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Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

EDITED BY

CHARLES WILLIAM EMIL MILLER

FRANCIS WHITE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

HERMANN COLLITZ, TENNEY FRANK, ROGER M. JONES,  
WILFRED P. MUSTARD, D. M. ROBINSON

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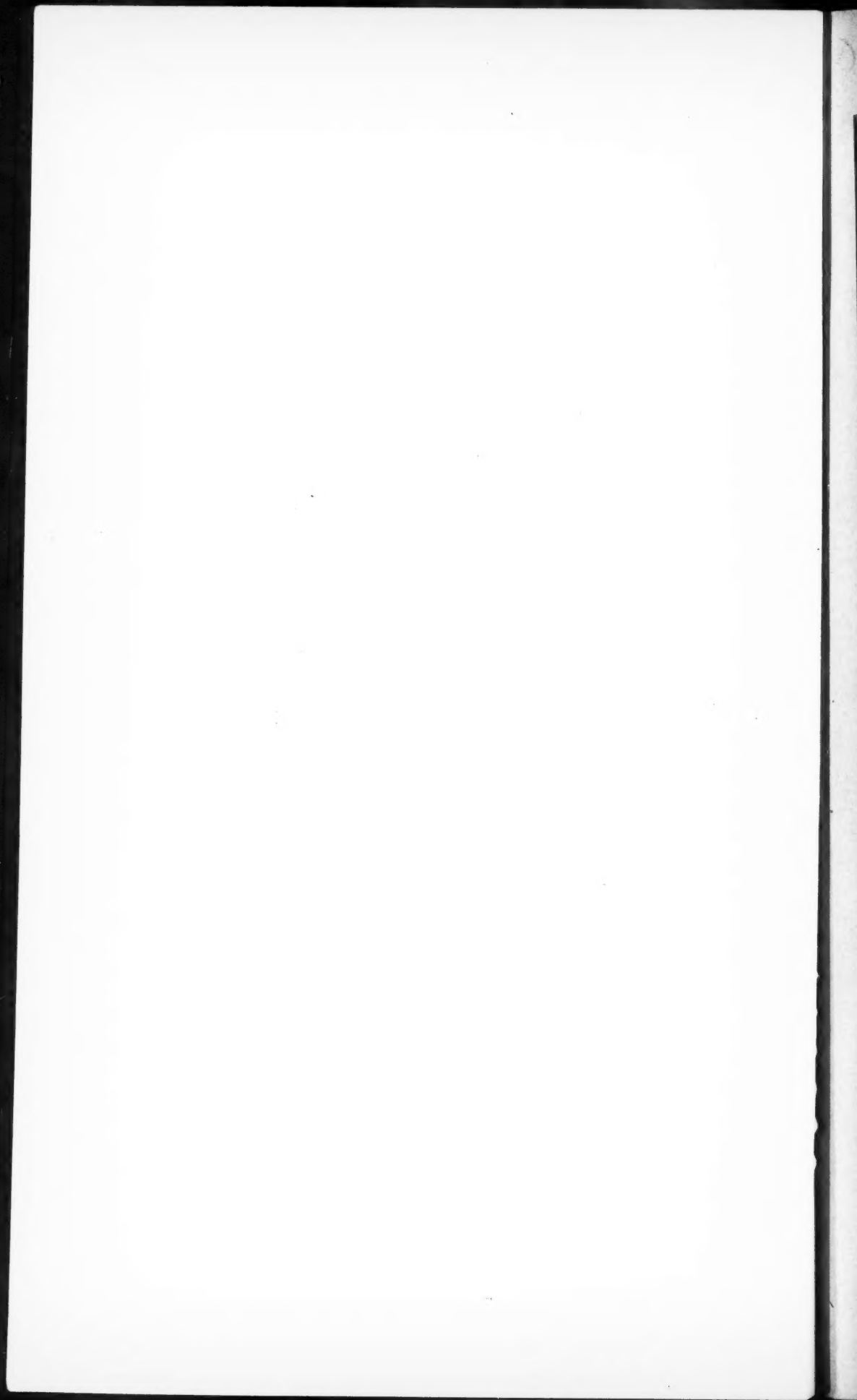
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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## THE PUBLIC FINANCES OF ROME 200-157 B. C.

It is impossible to secure the data by which to get an exact statement of Rome's public finances for any period, but, thanks to the survival of Livy's books from 31 to 45, we can draw up a general estimate of some value for about four decades of very important history. Livy's figures are, of course, not always accurate, but our best historians—for instance, De Sanctis—have reached the conclusion that, while his accounts of victories drawn from the enthusiastic reports of generals must be viewed with constant skepticism, the lists of legions assigned annually, of ships built, of war indemnities and booty actually turned into the treasury, are fairly good, if partial, transcripts of the censorial and treasury records. It is very likely that we owe these items to the diligence of the annalist Piso. To be sure, some items are lacking,<sup>1</sup> and in a few instances the scribes have copied carelessly, but we can at times supply the needed corrections from other authors, and at times strike a fair average for a missing year, on the basis of a series of adjacent years. Our most serious failure in statistics has to do with the vectigalia (port-tariffs, rents of public land, etc.); but the vectigalia were not a very important item in the first half of the second century B. C.; and I shall hazard by an indirect route a general estimate of them.

<sup>1</sup> The assignments of troops are not always given in full, the allied levies are recorded less frequently than those of citizens, and for several years, notably in the middle of the period, Livy refers only to the supplementary recruiting. However, we usually can tell from casual references how many legions are operating in each province.

Rome's income during this period came chiefly from the citizen tribute, from war indemnities and booty, and from vectigalia. The expenditures went mainly for the payment of troops—very heavy in this period—, for the navy, for transport service, and for public buildings. I shall not try to estimate the sacred accounts. As is well known, the civil service at Rome at this time cost the treasury very little. I shall carry my estimates from 200 B. C., when the treasury was practically empty, to the year 157 B. C., a date for which Pliny (*N. H.* 33, 55) gives the amount of silver, gold, and denarii stored in the treasury.

#### INCOME.

##### a. Citizen tribute.

Since the collection of the tribute came to an end in 167 because of the returns from indemnities, vectigalia, and booty after the defeat of Perseus, we are probably justified in supposing that the annual tribute was collected regularly from 200 to 167. There is no reference during this period to any doubling or multiplying of the standard tributum simplex as in the previous period, and, since the army was only about half as large as during the Punic War and since indemnities were larger, we should not expect more than the tributum simplex, which was a "mill-tax" (one tenth of one per cent) on all property of the five classes. From a chance statement of Livy (39, 7, 5) we know that the booty brought in by Manlius in 187, which amounted to a little over twenty-two million denarii,<sup>2</sup> was used to reimburse taxpayers for extra<sup>3</sup> tribute collected during the Punic War. Since this amount sufficed to pay back twenty-five and a half collections of the tributum simplex, the plausible inference has been drawn<sup>4</sup> that this amounted during the Punic War on the average to about 900,000 denarii annually (Roman private property would then be estimated at something like one

<sup>2</sup> See De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, III, 2, 626.

<sup>3</sup> Livy says vicenos quinos et semisses in milia aeris (39, 7, 5). Huschke (*Die Verf. des Serv. Tullius*, 505) and Marquardt (*Staatsverw.* 164) are probably right in assuming that the one-mill tribute was a tax and not a loan to be repaid. It was probably only the *extra* taxes, over and above the tributum simplex, that were repaid in 187.

<sup>4</sup> De Sanctis, *loc. cit.*; his argument develops the suggestions of Huschke.



thousand million denarii). Since property values increased rapidly during the next half century, it would be conservative to estimate the average annual tribute from 200 to 167 B. C. at about twice this amount. That is, the annual tribute for this period was about.....60,000,000 denarii.

b. Indemnities.

1. At the conclusion of the Hannibalic war Carthage was bound to pay in indemnity 200 talents per year for 50 years (Pol., 15, 18). Forty-three payments, made by

157, = .....8,600 talents.

2. In 196 Philip was bound to pay 500 talents in cash and ten annual payments of 50 (Pol., 18, 27; Plut., *Titus*, 9, 6; Livy, 33, 30, 7). In 191 he was excused from further payments. Paid in.....750 talents.

3. Nabis of Sparta paid Flamininus 100 talents in 194 and was to pay 50 per year, but was killed in 192 (Livy 34, 35 and 43). Paid in, probably.....200 talents.

4. Antiochus paid 500 talents to Scipio, 2,500 to Manlius, and 12,000 in annual instalments (Pol., 21, 14; Livy 37, 45; 38, 37) = .....15,000 talents.

5. The Aetolians: 200 talents in cash and 300 in annual instalments of 50 (Pol., 21, 30 and 32; 22, 13 and 15; Livy 38, 9 and 11) = .....500 talents.

6. Ariarathes paid Manlius in 187 (Livy 38, 37 and 39).....300 talents.  
(I shall include with the booty the exactions made by Manlius on the various minor chiefs of Asia.)

---

Total .....25,350 talents.

At 6,000 denarii the talent = .....152,100,000 denarii.

c. Booty and Spanish mines.

1) Booty<sup>5</sup> from Philip, Antiochus, Aetolia, Perseus, Illyria, and Epirus.

<sup>5</sup> Pais has given a list of these items in *Fasti Triumphales*, 417 ff., but by some strange mishap a score of serious errors (the substitution of pounds of silver for denarii, misprinting of numbers and mistaking centena milia for millions) has crept into the essay.

In calculating this booty turned into the treasury by the generals we shall at the end deduct the partial indemnities collected in cash from Philip, Nabis, Antiochus, Ariarathes, and the Aetolians, and presumably deposited by the generals in the treasury. I have calculated the Attic tetradrachmas (= 4 denarii), the cistophori (= about 3 denarii), and the victoriati (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarius) with the silver denarii. The gold Philippei, worth 25 denarii, I have reduced to pounds of gold at the rate of 40 to the pound, and have calculated the *coronae* at one pound of gold each (see Larfeld. Griech. Epig.<sup>3</sup>, 383).

Year	Nation	Gold lbs.	Silver lbs.	Denarii
194 B. C. <sup>6</sup>	Philip (Livy 34, 52)	4,191	43,270	336,000
190	Antiochus (Livy 37, 46)	45	3,000	1,199,000
189	Antiochus (Livy 37, 58)	49		534,000
189 <sup>7</sup>	Antiochus (Livy 37, 59)	4,757	138,843	1,860,000
187 <sup>8</sup>	Aetolia (Livy 39, 5, 13)	665	83,000	472,000
187 <sup>9</sup>	Galati (Livy 39, 7, 1)	2,723	220,000	1,250,000
167 <sup>10</sup>	Perseus (Plut., Aem., 32)	19,280	180,000	
167 <sup>11</sup>	Illyria (Livy, 45, 43)	27	1,000 (?)	73,000
		31,737	669,113	5,724,000

<sup>6</sup> We know from finds in Greece that Flamininus coined some gold which he used for expenses, but we cannot now estimate the amount. There is no reason to think that it was large. I assume that the amount of "booty" recorded by Livy included 500 + 50 + 50 talents collected from Philip before 194 and 100 talents collected from Nabis. Plutarch, *Titus*, 14, gives some details not found in Livy.

<sup>7</sup> Lucius Scipio was accused of not paying in a part of the indemnity. My figures do not take account of this rumor.

<sup>8</sup> This probably includes 200 talents paid in cash by the Aetolians. They were permitted to pay one third of the indemnity in gold.

<sup>9</sup> This sum may well include the 2,500 talents collected from Antiochus and 300 from Ariarathes.

<sup>10</sup> Our authorities differ about the amount returned by Aemilius Paullus. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, gives: 77 vessels containing each 3 talents of gold, a plate of gold weighing 10 talents, and 750 vessels containing 3 talents. If these are all talents of weight, the amount would equal about.....33,000,000 denarii. Livy 45, 40, 1, quotes Valerius Antias as giving 120,000,000 sesterces (= 30,000,000 denarii) but says that the calculation of the vessels would yield a larger sum. The figures of Diodorus (31, 8, 10) would bring the equivalent of about 36,000,000 denarii. Pliny, *N. H.*, 33, 56, says, as the manuscript stands, *H. S.* [∞∞∞∞]. It is usual to emend this to [∞cc] which would make it agree with Livy. Plutarch, Livy,

Counting a pound of gold at 1,000 denarii and a pound of silver at 80 denarii, we have about.....90,990,000 denarii.

From this amount we should deduct the cash payments made to the generals and already reported among the indemnities, namely, about 600 talents from Philip and 100 from Nabis to Titus, 500 from Antiochus to Scipio and 2,500 to Manlius, 200 from the Aetolians to Fulvius, and 300 from Ariarathes to Manlius, totalling 4,200 talents or about 25,000,000 denarii. Booty from the East—after deduction, about 66,000,000 denarii.

## 2) Mines of Spain and booty from Spain.

Scipio captured New Carthage in 209 and apparently took over the Carthaginian silver mines near that city, but the state could hardly have given the mines much attention till after 200 B. C. Spain was so far distant that the proconsuls apparently were given full charge of all administration at first. Cato, for instance, gave particular attention to the organization of the state mining property when he was proconsul there in 195. It is very likely that the product of the mines was, in the early period at least, carried home by the returning generals for the sake of safety, and I assume that the amounts reported to the treasury by generals in the following list include such ore, as well as the booty taken from the enemy. We happen to have a passage in Polybius (34, 9) cited by Strabo, which indicates that at one time, probably after our period since the passage is in book 34, these mines produced 25,000 denarii the day, but, since they were worked by 40,000 men, the production was only five-eighths of a denarius per man, which would not bring large profits even if captives were used in the industry. And with such intensive exploitation a silver mine would not last very many years at best. In the following calculation I have kept no distinction between the Roman denarius and the Spanish *oscensis*, since they were of about the same weight. I have

Diodorus, and Pliny therefore seem to be in general agreement. Plutarch, who gives specific details, has a plausible average which is not a round number.

<sup>11</sup> The text has XIX for the pounds of silver, which is so small that the text can hardly be right. We do not find less than a thousand pounds of silver reported. I have assumed 1,000, merely to offer a plausible amount.

omitted the bronze which is reported for only a few years. The amount of this is hardly significant except for the fact that at the beginning of the period the treasury was so impoverished that bronze was still sought after.

		<i>Gold lbs.</i>	<i>Silver lbs.</i>	<i>Denarii</i>
200 B. C.	Livy 31, 20, 7	2,450	43,000	
199	Livy 32, 7, 4	30	1,200	
196	Livy 33, 27, 2	1,515	20,000	34,500
195	Livy 34, 10, 4-7		49,532	487,400
194	Livy 34, 46, 2	1,400	25,000	663,000
191	Livy 36, 21, 11	127	12,000	130,000
185	Livy 39, 29, 6-7	264	26,300	
184	Livy 39, 42, 3-4	166	24,000	
182	Livy 40, 16, 11	149	9,320	
180 <sup>12</sup>	Livy 40, 43, 6	155	20,000 (?)	173,200
178	Livy 41, 7, 2		60,000	
174 <sup>13</sup>	Livy 41, 28, 6	50 (?)	10,000	
168	Livy 45, 4	10		250,000
		<hr/> 6,316	<hr/> 300,352	<hr/> 1,738,100

Reduced to denarii at the usual rate =

.....about 32,000,000 denarii.

3) The list of booty reported from Liguria, Cisalpine Gaul, and Istria (excluding a few early items of bronze, and in one instance, Livy, 36, 40, gold torques) is as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Denarii</i>
200 B. C.	Gaul, Livy 31, 49, 2			101,500
197	Gaul, Livy 33, 23, 4-9			132,200
196	Gaul, Livy 33, 37, 11			234,000
191	Gaul, Livy 36, 40, 12	247	2,340	234,000
181	Liguri, Livy 40, 34, 8	25		
177	Istri, Livy 41, 13, 7			350,000
166-58 <sup>14</sup>	Liguri, 3 (Fasti Triumph.)		10,000 (?)	
		<hr/> 272	<hr/> 12,340	<hr/> 1,051,700

<sup>12</sup> Livy's text has a lacuna omitting the quantity of the silver. I have ventured 20,000 as a plausible guess after comparing the other series of items.

<sup>13</sup> Livy's text has 5,000 pounds of gold, which, of course, editors do not accept. Gold was now scarce in Spain. Probably  $\bar{V}$  has somehow taken the place of L. I therefore suggest 50.

<sup>14</sup> This is a mere guess for the three Ligurian triumphs mentioned

Reduced to denarii = the very small amount:

.....2,200,000 denarii.  
 The sum total of all these items of gold and silver brought back by conquerors in the form of booty and including apparently the returns of the silver mines in Spain is therefore about .....100,000,000 denarii.

d. The vectigal. This was not large before the confiscations of the Punic War in Campania and the south. The grain of Sicily and Sardinia—about 1,000,000 bushels—was quite regularly sent to the armies and I shall therefore reckon it separately, since it probably was not included in the estimates of annual treasury income used for public improvements. The five per cent port-dues at a time when Rome's shipping consisted largely in military supplies probably paid little above the cost of collection. The half-tithe of Spain must have been small when wars in Spain were continuous and a relatively small portion of the peninsula subdued. The proceeds of the mines in Spain were considerable, but were apparently carried home by the generals and deposited in the treasury together with the booty. They seem to have been reckoned in the governors' accounts rather than in the regular accounts of annual revenue. The rentals of the Campanian lands and the decumae on the other public lands in the South would have been considerable, if properly collected, but they were poorly guarded, and in 162 the praetor had to reclaim at heavy cost some 50,000 jugera that had fallen into private hands (Granius Lic. p. 9, Fl.). Since Caesar's Campanian colony later numbered 20,000 men (Suet., *Jul.*, 20) and he allotted ten jugera to each man, the rented part of Campania was over 200,000 jugera. This would yield about two million bushels of wheat, a third of which probably fell to the state as rental. If wheat sold at three denarii the bushel, this would amount annually to two million denarii. But, as we have seen, these rentals were badly neglected.

We have no way of estimating the tithes on the other public lands or the port-charges, but, since the Campanian rentals were considered the most important item of Rome's income, the rest could not have been much. We may approach the question from

in the *Fasti Triumphales* under 166 and 158. It is doubtless a liberal allowance.



another angle. In 179 the vectigal for one year (exclusive of provincial grain and metal, I think) was used by the censors in public buildings of which we know something: the piers for the Aemilian bridge, the Aemilian Basilica (a modest structure, as the oldest remains prove), the plastering of the Jupiter temple, three short porticoes, a market-place, and some sewers were paid for out of the year's vectigal. Again in 169 the Sempronian Basilica was paid for from one-fourth of the year's vectigal. Taking all these rather indefinite facts together, I should suppose that 4,000,000 denarii the year would be a liberal estimate of the year's return. For the forty-three years between 200 and 157; about 150,000,000 denarii might then be somewhat near the regular returns of the vectigal.<sup>15</sup> And to this we must add the Macedonian vectigal of 100 talents a year between 166 and 157 = about 5,500,000.

e. The tithe.

From Sicily and Sardinia Rome drew a tithe in kind, which I have not included in the vectigalia of the treasury from which the censors assigned moneys for public buildings, for the reason that the grain was usually shipped directly to the armies. We must, however, reckon in this grain among state receipts, since the state used some of it in part payment for soldiers' stipends and to meet its obligations to the allied troops. Frequently the state asked for a second tithe, but for this it doubtless paid in cash as Cicero informs us was true in the Verrine period.

The Sicilian tithe in grain came to about 750,000 bushels (Cic. *Verr.* II, 3, 163) in the Verrine period when agriculture had been developed to the highest point. Since Sardinia was a

<sup>15</sup> The first definite figure that we have for the vectigal is that given by Plutarch, *Pompey*, 45, which places the whole annual return in 62 B. C. at about 50,000,000 denarii. The Campanian lands were then giving good returns, but most of the rest of the public land had been appropriated for colonization by the Gracchi. The port dues had increased very much, had probably been quadrupled. Asia, with its revenue of about 10,000,000 had been added, Spain had been pacified and produced well, Africa, with its public land, had been added, also Narbonese Gaul, Macedonia, with its mines, and Cilicia. Since these items alone would account for the most of the 50,000,000, our assumption of 4,000,000 for the early second century seems in general to be confirmed.

rough land and in a state of turmoil most of this period, we may perhaps assume that the combined yield of the two islands for our period may have been about one million bushels. At three denarii the bushel this would be worth for the forty-three years about .....130,000,000 denarii.

To sum up our estimates of income for the forty-three years in question, we have:

Citizen tribute up to 167,	about 60,000,000 denarii
Tithe of Sicily and Sardinia,	about 130,000,000 denarii
Vectigalia,	about 155,500,000 denarii
Gold and silver from mines and booty,	about 100,000,000 denarii
War indemnities	about 152,100,000 denarii

Total	597,600,000 denarii
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However, according to Pliny, *N. H.*, 33, 55, the treasury had in its vaults in 157 B. C. 17,410 pounds of gold, 22,070 pounds of silver, and 6,135,400 denarii in coined silver, or all told the equivalent of.....about 25,300,000 denarii. Furthermore in 187 the treasury had repaid old supertaxes to the extent of about 22,500,000 denarii (Livy 39, 7, 5). Hence, assuming an empty treasury in 201, the state spent in running expenses during the forty-three years, about.....550,000,000 denarii, or an average of nearly thirteen million denarii (say a little over two million dollars) the year.

#### EXPENDITURES:

##### a. Army.

The chief expense of the state during this period of severe warfare was for the army and navy. Common citizen soldiers received 120 denarii the year out of which they paid for their rations, the sixty centurions of each legion twice as much, and the cavalry three times as much. Soldiers of the allied contingents received about twelve bushels of wheat per year from the state treasury. At the beginning of this period each legion contained about 4,200 infantry and 300 horsemen. The number soon increased to 5,200 + 300, certainly before 182 (Livy 40, 1), probably in 192, when the allied contingents were enlarged. During the war with Perseus the legion had 6,000 infantry and

300 cavalry. The allies provided at least 5,000 men for each legion at first, but in preparation for the war with Antiochus, we find that 7,500 infantry and 400 cavalry of the *socii* are usually assigned to each legion.

Though Livy provides very useful lists of the annual assignments of troops, he often contents himself with a statement of how many men were recruited to take the place of the dead or the discharged veterans. Hence exact statistics cannot be given. However, since we know the approximate strength of the legions and usually know how many legions are stationed in each province during the period, even if we have no evidence for the specific year, we are justified in attempting to estimate the military forces of Rome for the period. But though I think the totals given here are nearly correct, I must insist that the specific number hazarded for several of the years is merely my estimate from the data given about the recruiting, the movements of troops, and from casualties in battle.

<i>Year</i>		<i>Legions</i>	<i>Citizens</i>	<i>Allies</i>	<i>Total</i>
200 B. C.	(Livy 31, 8; cf. 30, 41, 5)	7 legions	31,500	56,300	87,800
199	(Livy 32, 1; 8)	5 legions	22,500	45,000	67,500
198	(Livy 32, 8; 26)	7 legions	31,500	57,000	88,500
197	(Livy 32, 28; 33, 4)	7 legions	31,500	57,000	88,500
196	(Livy 33, 25-26)	10 legions	45,000	62,000	107,000
195	(Livy 33, 43; 34, 8)	9 legions	44,000	57,000	101,000
194	(Livy 34, 43; 46; 52; 56)	8 legions	40,000	50,000	90,000
193	(Livy 34, 55-6; 35, 4)	8 legions	40,000	51,000	91,000
192	(Livy 35, 20-21; cf. 36, 2)	10 legions	50,000	80,000	130,000
191	(Livy 36, 1; cf. 35, 41)	10 legions	50,000	80,000	130,000
190	(Livy 37, 2)	12 legions	60,000	90,000	150,000
189	(Livy 37, 50)	12 legions	60,000	85,000	145,000
188	(Livy 38, 35)	12 legions	60,000	85,000	145,000
187	(Livy 38, 42; 39, 2)	9 legions	45,000	60,000	105,000
186	(Livy 39, 8; 20)	8 legions	40,000	60,000	100,000
185	(Livy 39, 23)	c. 8 legions	40,000	60,000	100,000
184	(Livy 39, 38)	c. 8 legions	40,000	60,000	100,000
183	(Livy 39, 45)	c. 8 legions	40,000	60,000	100,000
182	(Livy 40, 1)	c. 8 legions	44,000	65,000	109,000
181	(Livy 40, 18)	c. 8 legions	44,000	65,000	109,000
180	(Livy 40, 36)	8 legions	44,000	60,000	104,000
179	(Livy 40, 44)	8 legions	44,000	60,000	104,000
178	(Livy 41, 1-5)	8 legions	44,000	60,000	104,000
177	(Livy 41, 9)	10 legions	55,000	63,000	118,000
176	(Livy 41, 14-17)	c. 10 legions	55,000	63,000	118,000



Year		Legions	Citizens	Allies	Total
175	(Livy 41, 21)	9 legions	47,000	60,000	107,000
174	(Lacuna)	c. 8 legions	42,000	60,000	102,000
173	(Livy 42, 1)	c. 8 legions	44,000	56,000	100,000
172	(Livy 42, 10)	c. 8 legions	44,000	56,000	100,000
171	(Livy 42, 27; 31; 35; 36)	c. 10 legions	54,000	68,000	122,000
170	(Lacuna)	c. 10 legions	50,000	65,000	115,000
169	(Livy 43, 12; 15)	c. 10 legions	50,000	65,000	115,000
168	(Livy 44, 21)	c. 10 legions	50,000	65,000	115,000
167	(Livy 45, 16)	c. 10 legions	50,000	65,000	115,000
166-57		about 8 legions each year			

Livy's extant books end with the year 167, but we may judge from what we know of military activities during the next nine years (to 157) that the average number of legions was then about eight, with probably about 5,000 legionaries and 6,000 allies in each. The average for the 43 years will therefore be about 47,250 citizens and 62,100 allies per year. The state, therefore, seems to have paid out in cash to the citizen soldiers from 201 to 157 about.....300,000,000 denarii.

b. The *allied troops* were more numerous as the lists show, but they received only their food as a rule, that is, a bushel of wheat per month, and wheat was probably worth about three denarii the bushel. However in the Spanish and Gallic campaigns much wheat was brought in by foragers. In the campaigns in Greece and the east (except in 189) foraging was seldom possible.<sup>16</sup> Assuming that two-thirds of the wheat was procured by purchase or from the provincial tithes, the cost of supplying the allies would be about.....64,000,000 denarii.

c. The cost of the navy is also difficult to estimate. At the end of the Punic War Rome had a good fleet of about 200 quin-

<sup>16</sup> See Livy 37, 27, Rome sends grain to its fleet at Chios; 37, 50, the double tithes of grain of Sicily and Sardinia are sent to the armies in Asia and Aetolia; 40, 35, since there was peace in Spain, the state did not have to send any grain there that year; 42, 1, Rome regularly supplied the needs of magistrates so that they should not be tempted to make requisitions on allies; 42, 27, Rome buying grain in Apulia; 42, 31, the tithes are sent to the armies; 44, 16, Rome paid the Epirotes for grain and engaged contractors to provide clothing for the army. Instances of gifts from allies and of requisitions upon the enemy are: Livy 37, 9; 37, 28; 42, 31; 43, 6.

queremes.<sup>17</sup> Many of these were old, but, since Philip was not strong on the seas while Rhodes and Attalus had respectable fleets, Rome needed only to fit out old vessels for the Macedonian war. Twenty ships were sent out at once (Livy 31, 14, 3, and 22, 5). Later we hear of a fleet of about seventy ships, partly allied, at Gythium (Livy 34, 26, 11). Probably not over 100 Roman quinqueremes were on the water between 200 and 191. The Greeks of South Italy, the *socii navales*, provided very few of these, at most twelve of the quinqueremes, at times less (Livy 26, 39; 36, 4, and 42; 42, 48).

In the war against Antiochus (192-188) Rome had a fleet of about 150 quinqueremes, some 50 of which were newly built (Livy 35, 20, 12; 21, 1; 24, 8; 36, 2, 15). After this war most of the fleet was laid up, but in the years 181-178 we hear of 20 ships in service (Livy 40, 18). In the war with Perseus a new fleet of about 100 quinqueremes had to be built, since many of the old ships were unserviceable (Livy 42, 27, 1; 31, 7; 43, 12, 8). The whole fleet consisted apparently of about 150 ships. During this period it was customary to use Roman *liberti* and allied levies for the fleet (Livy 36, 2, 15; 40, 18; 42, 27; 42, 31; 43, 12). Perhaps most of these received only food and equipment, not pay. But the number of men required was large, if, as in the First Punic War, each ship required 300 rowers and 120 marines (Pol. I, 26).

We have no statement available for the cost of building new ships, but, since the Athenians<sup>18</sup> during the fourth century estimated a trireme at about a talent and a half, perhaps 15,000 denarii would be a fair estimate for a Roman quinquereme during the early second century. The cost might therefore be estimated about as follows:

Cost of 150 new ships.....	(?)	2,300,000 denarii
Repairs of old.....	(?)	1,200,000 denarii
Food for crews and marines..	(?)	30,000,000 denarii

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(?) 33,500,000 denarii

<sup>17</sup> See Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1907, 58.

<sup>18</sup> Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, 1220. In the fourth century the hull of the trireme cost about a talent and its fittings about half as much. Oars for the trireme cost about 3 drachmas each at Athens; the Roman quinquereme required over 300 oars. Various other prices in

d. We have very little evidence regarding the expensive transport service. In the First Punic War, when Rome kept an active fleet of about 200 quinqueremes on the sea and had to carry provisions and men to the fleet and to the four legions operating in Sicily, there were at least 800 transports at one time (Pol. I, 52, 6), that is, about four times as many vessels as in the navy. We do not know how large these boats were, but they had to be able to weather such storms as might arise on journeys between Rome and Lilybaeum. The smallest would certainly carry more than 300 amphorae (225 bushels, the upper limit of a senator's riverboat) while the larger might reach the standard size of merchant vessels—400 tons. During the years 200 to 188, when transport service had to be kept for the armies and navies operating in and about Macedonia and Greece, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, we can hardly reckon on a smaller fleet of transports than that mentioned in Polybius for the First Punic War. Thereafter it was, of course, reduced in size, though hardly as much as the war fleet, since service to Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia continued. In 172-167 the transport arm was again called upon for very heavy work. I shall venture to estimate the cost of the transport fleet serving both the armies and the navies (and remaining in more continuous service than the navy) at nearly the cost of the navy, i. e. .... (?) 30,000,000 denarii.

e. Then we must set aside an amount for public buildings.<sup>19</sup> Here again we have but few items. For the year 179 (Livy 40, 46, 16) we know that the censors used the vectigalia of one year, which we have estimated at about four million denarii, but this was a year of unusual building activity; ten years later the amount appropriated for the purpose was half the vectigalia (Livy 44, 16), and this was doubtless a more normal proportion. If we assume two million denarii for each of eight censorial lustra and add to this the 6,000,000 denarii spent at one time—

Greece are: a mast, 37 drachmas; 2 rudders, 25 drachmas; the bracing-ropes, 478 drachmas.

<sup>19</sup> In northern Italy there was extensive road-building during this period, but it is probable that the army did this work (Livy 38, 2). The Egnatian road, leading from the Adriatic through Macedonia, was probably begun in this period and, since no army was stationed in Macedonia then, the state probably paid for it out of the vectigal. But I assume that the contracts were paid for after 157.

apparently in Cato's censorship<sup>20</sup>—in reconstructing the out-worn sewage system, we get for public buildings  
a sum of about.....22,000,000 denarii.

f. We have left an estimated sum of about a hundred million denarii (or nearly two and a half million denarii the year) out of which to cover all general expenses for which we have very meager data. Out of this would have come, during forty-three years, the expenses for the generals' staffs in the field, for extra arms and clothing that would be supplied the troops at times of stress, some appropriations for games and plays, gifts and provisions to foreign envoys—not expensive, but frequently given—and the expense accounts of commissions frequently sent to Greece and Carthage. I do not believe that the estimated sum is too large for these varied items.

This attempt at bookkeeping is obviously far from satisfactory, but it is something to get a general conception of Rome's budgetary scale. Even if we recognize that with fuller information the sums might have to be doubled or halved, that would not essentially alter our conception of Rome's financial status. Thirty years ago we had a billion-dollar budget. We soon doubled it, but our financial position among nations was not altered much thereby. Despite the uncertainties we know at least that during the years that Rome was conquering Philip, Antiochus, Spain, and the Po Valley, her average budget ran not far from two million dollars the year, an amount that we now associate with very small cities or with state universities of our middle west. That knowledge helps us somewhat to comprehend how insignificant finances were in comparison with human energy in Cato's day.

The account, at any rate, looks something like this for the forty-three years of 200-157 B. C.:

<sup>20</sup> There was extensive sewer-building during Cato's censorship, and, since the repairs costing a thousand talents were mentioned in the early history of Acilius (Dionysius 3, 67), it is usual to assume that the reference is to Cato's activities.

<i>Income</i>		<i>Outlay</i>	
Citizen taxation	60,000,000	Soldiers' pay	300,000,000
Vectigalia	155,500,000	Allies' food	64,000,000
Provincial tithes	130,000,000	Navy	33,500,000
Indemnities	152,100,000	Transport	30,000,000
Booty and mines	100,000,000	Public bldgs.	22,000,000
	<hr/>	General	100,500,000
	597,600,000		
Arrears paid, and reserves	47,600,000		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total about	550,000,000		550,000,000

The average annual expense was about 13,000,000 denarii or in present gold values somewhat over two million dollars.

It is apparent from these figures that the state, which had had no access to silver mines and had therefore depended upon bronze coinage longer than most nations of the time, now gained possession of rather large amounts of gold and silver. It is interesting to note also that so large a proportion of the metal—nearly a tenth of what had been acquired—actually lay in the vaults unused in 157. Apparently the state had more than it was thought necessary to put into circulation. We are never told on what principle the mint masters acted in issuing coins. It is certain from the state of the treasury in 157 that they did not issue all the bullion available. Probably there never was any attempt to keep the system flexible or to adapt the issues to the needs of business. It is only at very critical times—as, for instance, when Hannibal approached Rome in 217 B. C.—that the mint seems to have responded deliberately to pressing needs for currency. We may assume, I think, that the state usually coined just enough of its store to keep somewhat ahead of its war expenditures, though we may also assume that it was ready to let extra contracts for public improvements when the treasury had large reserves. But we have no reason to suppose that it made any special efforts to consider the state of business or of prices. At this time at least the business world, such as it was, had apparently to make the best of whatever amounts were put into circulation through treasury payments to troops and to contractors. Another significant fact is that, while the treasury had taken in over 38,000 pounds of gold in booty and probably some amounts of gold in the eastern indemnities, it had in 157



less than half of this left, though it had not in the meantime coined any gold. It is quite likely, therefore, that the treasury sold some of its gold in the market for silver which it could use at the mint. Such sales probably took place at Rome to supply jewellers with the precious metal they needed, just as it must have sold the wax that came from Corsica by way of tribute.

It would be interesting to know how much money was actually in circulation at this time, but, though we can in a general way estimate how much was issued during this period, we have scanty evidence for what currency circulated at the beginning. Before the Second Punic War Rome had little silver and was constantly in financial straits. During the latter half of that war several sums came in. The capture of Capua<sup>21</sup> provided 2,070 pounds of gold, 31,200 pounds of silver; New Carthage 276 pounds of gold and 18,300 pounds of silver; the victory at the Metaurus some 300 talents of silver; Tarentine booty amounted to 3,000 talents, but the sale of captives would account for about a half of this; we have not the figures for Syracuse, but the booty taken there was fully as much, and finally Scipio brought home from Africa 2,400 pounds of gold and 44,000 pounds of silver. In other words the treasury received at least some 50,000,000 denarii worth of silver and gold which we may be sure was put into immediate circulation since the treasury was still in debt at the end. This is not a large amount, but we may at least reckon that it afforded a circulation of about 50 denarii per person. Of course, much of this was paid to soldiers serving abroad, and it did not all come back to Rome.

During the years 200 to 157 we have seen that the indemnities, the booty, and the mines brought in from abroad at least some 250,000,000 denarii worth of new precious metals. Since thirty-eight million of the booty was in the form of gold, and permission was at times given to pay a third of the indemnities in the same metal, we may assume that about fifty million were in the metal not used for coinage. Deducting also the silver in the treasury in 157, we may reckon that in addition to the currency of 200 B. C. about 180,000,000 denarii were put into

<sup>21</sup> The passages are: Capua, Livy 26, 14, 8; New Carthage, Livy 26, 47, 7, and Polybius 10, 19; Metaurus, Polybius 11, 3; Tarentum, Plutarch, *Fab.* 22, and Livy 27, 16, 7; Africa, Livy 31, 20.

circulation during this period from newly acquired silver. Since the census of adult male citizens in 153 was 324,000, the whole population was about one and one quarter million souls. Hence, without taking cognizance of soldiers' expenditures abroad or of wastage, we would have in currency about 180 denarii (about \$30) per person that had been put into circulation in sixty years. Naturally much of it was no longer current at Rome. Our own circulation today is about \$50 per person in currency, but, of course, Rome had no developed credit system to eke out the currency, and the Roman custom of keeping the silver at home in the strong-box for safe keeping did not make for fluidity.

Beside the metals that flowed to the treasury of Rome, not a little came by way of soldiers' booty. The amount of it is so seldom given that historians vary widely in estimating the possible sum of it. We can, however, set down some significant facts regarding it. In the first place, we know from Polybius that army discipline was still very strict; we also know that till about 171 there are few accusations of irregular looting, that the soldiers were not allowed to take plunder except in towns that had resisted till they had been taken by storm, and that then the soldiers were compelled to bring their finds to a common collection which was disposed of by the quaestor who set apart the state's portion before a division was made between officers and men (see *Pol.* 10, 16). Usually the soldiers' portion was distributed by the general after the triumph in the form of an extra. It sometimes amounted to only a dollar or two. Only once, in the campaign against Antiochus, did it approach a hundred dollars per man and that was a campaign that was long remembered. In fact Livy says that recruiting for the war against Perseus was easy because in the last eastern wars the soldiers had come back enriched (*Livy* 42, 32, 6). What he means by this we can discover, I think. The soldiers of the last eastern war had won the battle of Thermopylae under Acilius in 190 and the battle of Magnesia under Scipio in 189, after which they were given two extra stipendia (240 denarii) plus a donative of 25 denarii. Then in 188 the generous Manlius Vulso had led them against the Galati, for which campaign they received an extra stipend of 120 denarii and a bonus of 42 denarii. That is, the survivors of four severe battles came back with extras amounting to 427 denarii, which in that day was

probably enough to buy two or three acres of good land—and that to them was wealth. Besides, centurions received twice as much and knights three times the amount.

At times there were also extras given on the field when a general allowed the soldiers to allot booty and sell it without placing it in the hands of the quaestor (Pol. 14. 7, seems to be a case in point). But instances of this seem to be rare. In general it must be said that the villages stormed in the west were small and poor—Schulten's recent description of Numantia gives surprising evidence of that—and that during the campaigns in Greece, after Rome had ostentatiously proclaimed that it was fighting for the freedom of the Greeks, the razing of cities was generally prevented by the generals, at least before the war with Perseus. I have compiled from Livy a list of the soldiers' bonuses that the generals distributed. But it is difficult to say how many soldiers participated in each distribution. At times the bonus may have been given only to the veterans who walked in the triumph. This, at least, is the implication of Livy 36, 40, 13: *qui currum secuti*. Since Spain was very far away, it was usual to permit only discharged veterans to return with the general. On the other hand, Acilius gave a donative to his troops though he had turned over his army to L. Scipio, and Scipio did the same though his army went to Manlius. I have assumed in making my estimates that the procedure of Acilius and Scipio was the normal one. My figures therefore are rather too large than too small. I am also assuming that, when asses are mentioned, the old army custom of considering ten asses as the equivalent of a denarius still held. In this list, the centurions regularly receive twice as much and the equites three times as much as the common soldier, and the allies as much as the citizens, unless it is otherwise stated.

200 B. C. (Livy 31, 20, 7)		militibus ex praeda 120
	Gaul	asses.
197	(Livy 33, 23, 7)	Gaul 70 asses each
197	(Livy 33, 23, 9)	Spain 70 asses
196	(Livy 33, 37, 12)	Gaul 80 asses
194	(Livy 34, 46, 3)	Cato 270 asses
194	(Livy 34, 52, 11)	Macedonia 250 asses
191	(Livy 36, 40, 13)	Gaul 125 asses
189	(Livy 37, 59, 6)	Antiochus 25 denarii + 2 stipends.
187	(Livy 39, 5, 17)	Aetolia 25 denarii



187	(Livy 39, 7, 2)	Galatia	42 denarii + 1 stipend.
180	(Livy 40, 43, 7)	Spain	50 denarii + 1 stipend.
179	(Livy 40, 59)	Liguri	300 asses
178	(Livy 41, 7)	Spain	25 denarii
178	(Livy 41, 7)	Spain	25 denarii
177	(Livy 41, 13, 7)	Istri	15 denarii (socii only half as much)
168	(Livy 45, 34, 5)	Epirus	200 denarii. equites 400 out of booty of Epirus.
167	(Livy 45, 40)	Perseus	100 denarii
167	(Livy 45, 43)	Navy	45 denarii to socii navales
167	(Livy 45, 43)	Illyria	45 denarii

Livy's account of the triumph over the Sardinians has been lost in the lacuna of the forty-first book.

The amount of booty and extra stipends given in this list amounts to about 18,000,000 denarii, on the best calculation that I can hazard regarding the numbers participating.

In addition to these soldiers' bonuses we ought, of course, to reckon the officers' shares of the booty that came to Rome. In the days of Caesar these shares were very large. Caesar enriched himself in Spain and Gaul, and his chief officers, like Labienus and Mamurra, also became wealthy. It is therefore common to assume that the officers' shares were very large in Cato's day as well. But we have no proof of this. The men who handled the largest amount of booty at this time were men like Flamininus, the Scipios, Cato, Sempronius Gracchus the elder, and Aemilius Paullus, and these men died relatively poor. To be sure, the war with Perseus ended with charges of peculation. Licinius Crassus and Lucretius who served in Macedonia in 171 were apparently dishonest, and three of the generals serving in Spain about the same time gained an ugly reputation, but we are still far from the day of Sulla and Verres. In general we may say that the proconsular share was still moderate, and that it was spent largely on some religious or public monument vowed in the prayer for victory before or during the battle.

I owe to Pais (*Fasti Triump.* 497 ff.) the following list of temples vowed by generals of this period, and presumably paid for out of manubiae: Vejovis on the island vowed by Furius in the Gallic war; Juno Sospita, by Cethegus in Gaul; shrine of Victoria Virgo, on the Palatine, by Cato in Spain; Vejovis on

the Arx, by Marcius Ralla in Gaul; Pietas in the Forum Holitorium, by Acilius, in Greece; Hercules Musarum, by Nobilior in Aetolia; Venus Erucina, at Porta Collina by L. Porcius in Gaul; Juno Regina and also Diana near the Flaminian Circus, by Lepidus in Liguria; Lares Permarini in the Campus by Regillus while commanding the fleet of the Aegean; Fortuna Equestris by Fulvius Flaccus in Spain. Here are some ten temples of moderate size. (Lares is probably temple *C* of the Argentina group, Juno Sospita probably the middle temple under S. Nicola in Carcere.) All the buildings of this period were inexpensively constructed with native tufa that was plastered and ornamented with stucco. I doubt not that the whole ten were built for less than 5,000,000 denarii. Most of these sums received by officers and men were brought to Rome and expended there, and should therefore be considered in estimating the amounts of silver imported. It might be fair to reckon that such booty, distributed to officers and soldiers, might suffice to offset the amounts that the soldiers spent out of their stipends in foreign lands.

This was a period, as we see, in which the treasury found its metals for coinage chiefly in indemnities and booty. In the next period of fifty years metals were largely secured by developing the mines of Spain, Cisalpine Gaul, Noricum, and Macedonia. Thereafter the treasury depended more and more on the returns from provincial vectigalia. But the important thing is to remember how trifling were in fact the amounts that the treasury handled. In Cato's day the annual budget was about two million dollars the year; a hundred years later it was still only about ten million.

TENNEY FRANK.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

## DIE QUELLEN FÜR DAS SPÄTRÖMISCHE HEERWESEN.

[Hauptquelle für unsere Kenntnis des spätrömischen Heerwesens ist die *Notitia dignitatum*; hiezu kommen noch einzelne kleinere, als Ergänzung und zum Vergleich aber überaus wichtige Belege. Um alle diese Quellen voll auswerten zu können, ist eine eingehende Textkritik erforderlich, die in den folgenden Ausführungen erstmalig in solchem Umfang versucht wird.]

### 1. DIE ZEITGENÖSSISCHE LITERATUR IM ALLGEMEINEN.

#### *Cassius Dio.*

Wenn wir die Reihe der Verzeichnisse und sonstigen Aufzeichnungen überblicken, die uns über die römische Wehrmacht der Kaiserzeit erhalten sind, so zeigt sich für den ersten Augenblick eine erfreuliche Menge. Wir sehen teils vollständige teils unvollständige Verzeichnisse der Legionen und neben einer ganz stattlichen Anzahl von Textstellen, die auf einzelne Truppenkörper Bezug nehmen, eine schier überwältigende Fülle von Inschriften. Sobald wir jedoch einen bestimmten Zeitabschnitt ins Auge fassen, reduziert sich die Zahl der Quellen schon ganz beträchtlich—sind sie doch auf einen Zeitraum von mehreren Jahrhunderten verteilt—und je mehr wir uns dem Ausgange der Kaiserzeit nähern, desto mehr verschlechtert sich das Bild. Für den Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts versagen unsere Hilfsmittel sogar fast gänzlich und wir sind gezwungen, auf der Suche nach einem Truppenverzeichnis ziemlich weit in das 3. Jahrhundert zurückzugehen. Das erste, das uns hier begegnet, ist uns von Cassius Dio (LV 23; 24) überliefert, der unter Severus Alexander (222-235) seine *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία* schrieb. Dio zählt 32 Legionen auf und gibt überdies auch noch knappe Daten über die Praetoriani und Urbaniciani, ferner über die germanischen Gardereiter und die Hilfstruppen. Das Legionsverzeichnis ist teilweise verstümmelt überliefert; eigentliche Fehler kommen darinnen jedoch nicht vor. Die beste Ergänzung geben zwei Inschriften, die sogenannten vatikanischen Säulen. Durch den Vergleich mit ihnen sehen wir, daß das Verzeichnis Dios folgendermaßen zu ergänzen ist: Statt der legio XX in Germania inferior muß gesetzt werden XX[II Primigenia]; bei der hispanischen legio VII ist das Wort "gemina" beizufügen. Was schließlich das Fehlen der legio XVI Flavia und die

Ansetzung der IV Flavia in Syrien statt in Moesia superior anbetrifft, so gehen beide Fehler auf eine gemeinsame Ursache zurück. Der Text lautet nämlich in der richtigen Fassung: τὸ τέταρτον τὸ [Φλαονίειον τὸ ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω, τό τε ἑκκαδέκατον τὸ] Φλαονίειον τὸ ἐν Συρίᾳ. Beim Abschreiben übersprang der Kopist die hier in Klammern gesetzten Worte, indem er von dem ersten "Φλαονίειον" gleich zum zweiten überging, so daß die dazwischen befindlichen Worte ausfielen.

*Die vatikanischen Säulen.*

Die in der *vatikanischen* Sammlung aufbewahrten zwei *Säulen*<sup>1</sup> enthalten die Namen von 33 römischen Kaiserlegionen. Die Herstellung des Originals—die beiden uns erhaltenen Exemplare sind nur Kopien—kann nicht vor dem Tode Traians (117), bzw. dem Anfange der Regierung Hadrians erfolgt sein, da die IX Hispana und XXII Deiotariana, die zu dieser Zeit vernichtet wurden und verschwinden, darauf nicht mehr enthalten sind. Anderseits kann aber das Original auch nicht jünger gewesen sein, als höchstens aus den ersten Jahren der Regierung des Marcus Aurelius (164-180), da die II und III Italica, die damals errichtet wurden, nicht mehr in der Reihenfolge erscheinen, sondern—wie die 3 parthischen Legionen des Septimius Severus—erst später nachgetragen wurden. Die Entstehungszeit des Originals wird somit in die Jahre 117 bis 167 zu setzen sein.

Der Text der vatikanischen Säulen lautet:

II AUG	II ADIUT	III SCYTH
VI VICT	III FLAV	XVI FLAV
XX VICT	VII CLAUD	VI FERRA
VIII AUG	I ITALIC	X FRETE
XXII PRIM	V MACED	III CYREN
I MINER	XI CLAUD	II TRAIAN
XXX ULP	XIII GEM	III AUG
I ADIUT	XII FULM	VII GEM
X GEM	XV APOL	II ITALIC
XIII GEM	III GALLIC	III ITALIC
I PARTH	II PARTH	III PARTH

Die Aufzählung der Legionen—jede Kolonne ist für sich zu

<sup>1</sup> CIL. VI 3492a,b. Vgl. Orelli, Inscript. lat. sel. 3368 u. 3369. Dieser erwähnt daß eine der beiden Kopien durch ein Versehen des Arbeiters unvollständig sei, indem die Zeile: X GEM XV APOL II ITALIC

lesen—beginnt mit Britannien, geht über Germanien und die Donauprovinzen in den Orient, von dort über Aegypten nach Afrika und endet mit der VII gemina in Hispanien. Die II und III Italica, ferner die I, II und III Parthica sind später nachgetragen, daher außerhalb der Reihenfolge.

*Itinerarium Antonini.*

Einige Daten über Truppenkörper enthält auch, in Form von späteren Randnotizen, das *Itinerarium Antonini*:

132, 4 Margo	249, 1 Laudiano leg. III. <sup>5</sup>
133, 1 et leg. VIII <sup>2</sup>	254, 5 Durnomago ala.
2 inde Viminacio.	255, 1 Burungo ala.
183, 5 Satala leg. XV Apollinaris.	2 Novesio ala.
186, 6 Samosata leg. VII. <sup>3</sup>	3 Gelduba ala.
219, 3 Ratiaria leg. XIII <sup>4</sup> gemina.	4 Calone ala.
220, 5 Oesco leg. V Mac.	5 Veteris ca-
221, 4 Novas leg. I Ital.	256, 1 stra leg. XXX Ulpia.
223, 4 Dorostoro leg. XI Cl.	2 Burginatio ala.
225, 2 Trosmis leg. I Jovia.	3 Harenatio ala.
226, 1 Novioduno leg. II Herculea.	387, 7 inde ad Galleciam ad leg.
241, 2 ad leg. XXX.	VII ge-
6 ad leg. XXX.	8 minam.
245, 7 Acinquo leg. II adiut.	395, 4 ad leg. VII geminam.
246, 4 Bregetione leg. I adiut.	466, 1 Eburacum leg. VI victrix.
247, 4 Carnunto leg. XIII gemina.	469, 2 Deva leg. XX victrix.
248, 2 Vindobona leg. X gemina.	484, 4 Iscae leg. II Augusta.

Da sich unter den Legionen auch 2 von Diocletian errichtete, die I Jovia und II Herculea, befinden, müssen die Zusätze frühestens aus der diocletianischen Zeit stammen. Nachdem aber wieder nur diese zwei Legionen darin enthalten sind, die, nach Namen und Nummer zu schließen, zu den ältesten diocletianischen Legionen gehören, so weist man sie der frühdiocletianischen Epoche zu.

*Ammianus Marcellinus.*

Von ungleich größerer Bedeutung als die vorgenannten spärlichen Angaben sind für die Kenntnis des römischen Heerwesens

entfallen ist. Sonst stimmen sie bis auf geringfügige Abweichungen vollkommen überein.

<sup>2</sup> Irrtümlich statt VII Cl(audia).

<sup>3</sup> Irrtümlich statt XVI.

<sup>4</sup> Irrtümlich statt XIII.

<sup>5</sup> Irrtümlich stat II I(talica).



des 4. Jahrhundert die Aufschlüsse, die uns die *rerum gestarum libri* des *Ammianus Marcellinus*<sup>6</sup> bieten. Kein Werk der antiken Literatur steht mit der *Notitia dignitatum* in einem so nahen Zusammenhange als diese Schrift. Abgesehen davon, daß gerade der uns erhaltene Teil derselben, Buch XIV bis XXXI, die Jahre 353 bis 378 in besonders ausführlicher Weise behandelt, ist die Ursache hiefür aber auch in der Person des Verfassers zu suchen. Dieser hatte nicht nur eine gute Erziehung genossen (XIX 8), er hatte auch als Offizier im römischen Heere gedient und war dem Stabe des *Magister Equitum per Orientem Ursicinus* zugeteilt gewesen, wodurch er Gelegenheit fand, große Teile des Reiches zu bereisen und persönlich an mehreren Feldzügen teilzunehmen. Alle diese Umstände—eigenes Erleben, vertrauter Verkehr mit dem tüchtigen General, dazu ein klarer Blick und ein unvoreingenommenes Urteil—tragen dazu bei, daß das Werk des Ammian inhaltlich weit über dem Großteil aller übrigen uns erhaltenen Erzeugnisse der römisch-griechischen Literatur der nachklassischen Zeit steht.

Diese Vorzüge lassen uns über manche kleine Schwächen des Verfassers nachsichtig urteilen und dies um so mehr, als der militärische Wert der Schrift dadurch keinerlei Einbuße erfährt. So wird Ammian durch seine große Zuneigung zu Ursicinus, der ihm nicht nur Vorgesetzter sondern auch väterlicher Freund gewesen zu sein scheint, mitunter gegen dessen persönliche Feinde, insbesondere gegen den verdienten und erprobten Arbetio (XIV 11; XV 2; XVI 8), ungerecht und urteilt zu streng über sie. Seine Verehrung für Kaiser Julian ist vollkommen echt und ungekünstelt; Ammian verfaßte sein Werk so viele Jahre nach dem Tode dieses Monarchen, daß an einen persönlichen Vorteil, den ihm das Lob bringen konnte, gar nicht zu denken ist. Er scheut sich übrigens auch nicht, seine Maßnahmen gegebenen Falles energisch zu tadeln (XX 3; XXI 12; XXV 4). Weniger erbaulich wirkt jedoch das übertriebene, dem jungen Theodosius (XXIX 6)—dem nachmaligen Kaiser—und seinem gleichnamigen Vater (XXVII 8; XXVIII 3) gespendete Lob. Da es aber auf die Glaubwürdigkeit des

<sup>6</sup> Ueber Ammian einiges bei: Müller, *Militaria aus Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Philologus* 64 (1905), S. 573 f.; vgl. auch Nischer in Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft IV, 3, 2), S. 470 f.



Berichtes und die Verlässlichkeit der Darstellung keinen nachteiligen Einfluß ausübt, so mag dem Autor auch diese menschliche Schwäche verziehen sein.

### *Die Quellen Ammians.*

Der uns erhaltene Teil des Werkes Ammians umfaßt nur jene Zeit, die der Autor selbst erlebte und zwar in einem Alter und in einer Stellung, wo er in der Lage und auch fähig war, sich ein selbständiges Urteil zu bilden. Von vielen Ereignissen war er Augenzeuge, andere hat er von verlässlichen Zeugen erfahren; etwas Lager- und Kasernklatsch ist ihm freilich auch bisweilen in die Feder geraten, ohne daß dies aber für unsere Betrachtungen von nachteiligem Einfluß wäre. Man darf daher ruhig behaupten, daß Ammian so gute und verlässliche Quellen zu Gebote standen wie nur wenigen Geschichtschreibern, und daß er sie auch gut verwendet hat. Die Abfassung des Werkes fand, wie aus einer Bemerkung des Autors hervorgeht (XXXI 16), erst im reifen Alter statt, doch wird man wohl annehmen dürfen, daß er dazu Aufzeichnungen aus früheren Jahren benutzen konnte und nicht gezwungen war, alles aus dem Gedächtnisse niederzuschreiben.

### *Falsche Titel und Truppenbezeichnungen.*

Eine Schwäche des Werkes, die gerade bei einem dem Soldatenstande angehörenden Schriftsteller eigenartig anmutet, ist die geradezu unfaßbare Nachlässigkeit und Ungenauigkeit im Gebrauche der militärischen Titel und der Truppenbezeichnungen; besonders befremdlich in einer Zeit, in der das Titelwesen eine solche Rolle spielte. Es bildet fast eine Ausnahme, wenn einmal ein General mit dem richtigen, ihm offiziell gebührenden Titel benannt wird. Daß er häufig die Generale ohne Rücksicht auf ihren Rang als Duces (Kommandanten) bezeichnet, mag noch hingehen, obwohl schließlich auch Dux damals eine bestimmte militärische Charge bedeutete, und es deshalb zu Mißverständnissen Anlaß geben kann, wenn ein Magister oder Comes plötzlich Dux genannt wird.<sup>7</sup> Rector wird bald für militärische, bald für zivile Funktionäre angewendet; regere setzt Ammian im Sinne von befehligen, anführen

<sup>7</sup> z. B. XVI 12; XVII 8; XXXI 5; 7.

u. ä.<sup>8</sup> Für Anführer wird auch der Ausdruck *Ductores* (XIV 2) gebraucht. Am schwierigsten gestaltet sich aber unsere Forschung dadurch, daß die *Magistri* in vielen Fällen als *Comites* erscheinen, und daß bei den eigentlichen *Comites* nur ausnahmsweise ihre genaue Einteilung—als *Comes Domesticorum*, *Comes Rei Militaris*, und im letzteren Falle, ob mit einer bestimmten, ständigen Aufgabe betraut oder zur Verfügung des Kaisers für besondere Verwendungen—angegeben wird.<sup>10a</sup> Worin die Ursache für diese Eigentümlichkeit gelegen ist, läßt sich schwer sagen; vielleicht ist es Sorglosigkeit, vielleicht auch das Bestreben, den Leser nicht durch häufige Wiederholung derselben Titulaturen zu ermüden.

Eine andere Eigenart ist, daß der jüngere von zwei Generalen oder Offizieren oft zuerst genannt wird, z. B. XXIII 3, wo erzählt wird, daß die Flottille von dem Tribunen Constantinus und dem *Comes Lucillianus* befehligt wurde. Eine besonders nachlässig abgefaßte Stelle ist XXI 13: *Arbetionem et Agilonem, pedestris equestrisque militiae magistros*. Jeder Leser wird wohl den *Arbetio* als *Magister Peditum*, den *Agilo* als *Magister Equitum* ansehen; tatsächlich verhält es sich aber gerade umgekehrt.

Bei der Bezeichnung der Truppenkörper herrscht eine ähnliche Nachlässigkeit. So erscheinen z. B. die uns aus der *Notitia dignitatum* als *Auxilia Palatina* bekannten *Jovii* und *victores* als Legionen (XXV 6; XXVII 8); ebenso sind in den *duodecim legiones* des Terentius (XXVII 12) gewiß eine beträchtliche Anzahl *Auxilia Palatina* und wahrscheinlich auch Reiterabteilungen inbegriffen. An anderer Stelle (XXVII 8) werden die *Auxilia Palatina* der *Batavi*, *Eruli*, *Jovii* und *victores* wieder Legionen und Cohorten<sup>10</sup> genannt. Unter dem Namen *cohors* finden wir mitunter auch Reiterabteilungen, so die *equites quartae sagittariorum cohortis*<sup>11</sup> (XXIX 5) und die *equestres cohortes* (XIV 2). Auch die Stelle: (*Julianus*) *reliquos ex ea cohorte . . . ad pedestrem compegit militiam* (XXIV 5), kann sich nur auf eine Reiterabteilung beziehen, da seit Constantin I keine aus Fußvolk und Reiterei zusammengesetzten Truppen-

<sup>8</sup> XXV 10; XXVII 4; 5 zweimal; 7; XXIX 4; XXX 5; XXXI 7.

<sup>9</sup> z. B. XXVII 11; XXX 2; XXXI 13.

<sup>10a</sup> Vgl. Nischer, *Hermes* LXIII, S. 430-456.

<sup>10</sup> *adscitataeque animosa legionum et cohortium pube*.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. *Occ.* VI 72 = VII 191 *equites quarto sagittarii*.

körper mehr bestanden.—An mehreren Stellen wird *cohortes* ganz allgemein für Truppenkörper, Abteilungen gesetzt (XXVII 2; XXX 10; XXXI 10), wobei unter diesem einen Namen Reiterregimenter, Legionen und *Auxilia Palatina* zusammengefaßt werden. Die Bezeichnung *numerus* erscheint wiederholt (so: XX 1; XXIV 4) in der damals üblichen Bedeutung für einen beliebigen Truppenkörper des Feldheeres.

#### *Archaismen.*

Als Archaismen müssen wir es entschieden betrachten, wenn in der Schlacht bei Argentoratum (357) von *antepilanis hastatisque et ordinum primis* gesprochen wird (XVI 12). Dasselbe gilt von der *cohors praetoria* des Constantius (358; XVII 13), womit irgend eine Abteilung der kaiserlichen Leibgarde gemeint ist. Auch die Bezeichnung *convocatis cohortibus et centuriis et manipulis* (XVIII 13) paßt nicht mehr in die nach-constantinische Epoche; mit dieser dichterischen Umschreibung soll das gesamte Heer bezeichnet werden. Die *praecursatores* (XVI 12) sind nicht ein Truppenkörper dieses Namens. Ammian versteht darunter die Vorhut, die Vortruppen.

#### *Zosimos. Claudian. Codex Theodosianus.*

Eine kleine, jedoch trotzdem nicht zu verachtende Ergänzung der aus Ammian geschöpften Kenntnisse gewinnen wir aus dem Geschichtswerke des Zosimos, während Claudian einen recht interessanten Überblick über das für den Krieg gegen Gildo (398) bestimmte Expeditionskorps gibt. Auch der *Codex Theodosianus* aus dem Jahre 438 enthält in seinen Gesetzen und Verordnungen manche Hinweise, die für uns nicht ohne Nutzen sind. Einzelne Stellen, die in der sonstigen zeitgenössischen Literatur verstreut sind und für unsere Forschung in Betracht kommen, werden fallweise besprochen werden.

#### *Notitia dignitatum.*

War alles, was uns bisher geboten wurde, nur Stückwerk, so ist uns am Schlusse der hier zu behandelnden Epoche ein Dokument erhalten, das in seiner Ausführlichkeit und Zuverlässigkeit so großartig erscheint, daß wir es uns kaum besser wünschen können. Es ist dies die *Notitia dignitatum*,<sup>12</sup> eine Zusam-

<sup>12</sup> Soweit nicht besonders bemerkt, beziehen sich alle Angaben auf die Ausgabe von Seeck (Berlin 1876).

menstellung aller Militär- und Zivilämter, sowie der ganzen Heeresorganisation aus dem Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts. Vergleichen wir das Legionsverzeichnis der Notitia dignitatum mit den beiden aus dem 3. Jahrhundert, so sehen wir einen gewaltigen Unterschied. Statt der 33 alten Kaiserlegionen enthält das Handbuch deren 190 und überdies lassen sich noch die Spuren einer ganzen Reihe weiterer Legionen verfolgen, die zum größten Teil zur Zeit der Abfassung nicht mehr bestanden haben, während ein kleinerer Bruchteil durch Unachtsamkeit beim Abschreiben des Werkes oder aus anderen Ursachen entfallen sein mag. Aber nicht nur in der Zahl der Legionen zeigt sich ein großer Wandel; auch in der Beschaffenheit, dem ganzen Wesen derselben ist ein völliger Umschwung eingetreten. Wohl finden wir die alten Grenzlegionen wieder, doch daneben besteht eine viel größere Anzahl von Legionen, die zum Unterschied von den als *legiones riparienses* (Or. XXXIX 28; XL 29) bezeichneten alten und neuen Grenzlegionen den Namen *legio palatina*, *comitatensis*, *pseudocomitatensis* tragen.

Den äußerlichen Wandel, den die alten Grenzlegionen in der Zeit von Cassius Dio bis zur Notitia dignitatum erfahren haben, zeigt die folgende Zusammenstellung.<sup>13</sup>

Cassius Dio:	Name der Legion:	Notitia dignitatum:
Britannia inferior....	VI victrix .....	Britannia, Occ. XL
superior....	II Augusta .....	litus Saxonicum per Britannias, Occ. XXVIII
	XX Valeria victrix...	fehlt
Germania inferior....	I Minervia .....	fehlt
[inferior] ..	XXX Ulpia .....	fehlt
superior...	VIII Augusta .....	fehlt
	XX[II Primigenia] ..	fehlt
Raetia .....	III Italica .....	Raetia, Occ. XXXV
Noricum .....	II Italica.....	Noricum ripense, Occ. XXXIV
Pannonia superior....	X gemina }	.....Pannonia I, Occ. XXXIV
	XIV gemina }	
inferior....	I adiutrix }	.....Valeria, Occ. XXXIII
	II adiutrix }	
Dacia .....	V Macedonica }	...Dacia ripensis, Or. XLII
	XIII gemina }	
[Moesia superior]....	IV Flavia }	.....Moesia I, Or. XLI
Moesia superior.....	VII Claudia }	

<sup>13</sup> Die Klammern bezeichnen die Auslassungen bei Dio.

Cassius Dio:	Name der Legion:	Notitia dignitatum:
Moesia inferior.....	I Italica } XI Claudia }	.....Moesia II, Or. XL
Cappadocia .....	XII fulminata } XV Apollinaris }	.....Armenia, Or. XXXVIII
Syria .....	IV Scythica } [XVI Flavia] }	.....Syria, Or. XXXIII
Phoenicia .....	III Gallica .....	Foenice, Or. XXXII
Judaea .....	VI ferrata .....	fehlt
	X Fretensis .....	Palaestina, Or. XXXIV
Mesopotamia .....	I Parthica .....	Mesopotamia, Or. XXXVI
	III Parthica .....	Osrhoena, Or. XXXV
Arabia .....	III Cyrenaica .....	Arabia, Or. XXXVII
Aegyptus .....	II Traiana .....	Thebais, Or. XXXI
Numidia .....	III Augusta .....	fehlt
Hispania .....	VII [gemina] .....	Hispania, Occ. XLII
Italia .....	II Parthica .....	Mesopotamia, Or. XXXVI.

Außer den Legionen überliefert uns der militärische Teil der *Notitia dignitatum* auch die Namen der Leibgarden und Hilfstuppen, der Flotten und Militärfabriken. Sie führt im Gegensatz zu anderen Verzeichnissen nicht nur die Namen—eventuell mit bloßem Zusatz der Provinz—an, sondern gibt uns die genaue organisatorische Einteilung, bei den Grenztruppen sogar die Standorte, und macht uns mit den Chargen und Titeln der Kommandanten, mit den ganzen Rangverhältnissen bekannt. Statt einer knappen Aufzählung, wie sie uns sonst vorliegen, haben wir hier ein Handbuch vor uns, das auf viele bisher unbeantwortete Fragen Auskunft gibt und aus dem sich durch intensives Eingehen noch viel mehr Kenntnisse schöpfen lassen, als man ohnedies schon auf den ersten Blick vermuten würde.

## 2. DIE NOTITIA DIGNITATUM.<sup>14</sup>

### a. Das Wesen der *Notitia dignitatum*.

#### Der Verfasser der *Notitia dignitatum*.

Die *Notitia dignitatum* ist unsere wichtigste Quelle für die Kenntnis des römischen Militärwesens des vierten Jahrhunderts.

<sup>14</sup> Der große Umfang des Stoffes, den wir aus unserer Hauptquelle, der *Notitia dignitatum*, gewinnen, bringt es mit sich, daß der Beschreibung derselben ein besonderer Abschnitt gewidmet werden muß, während



Zur Beurteilung der Verlässlichkeit dieser Quelle ist es notwendig, ihren Verfasser und ihr Alter festzustellen. Daß die *Notitia dignitatum* nicht als die Arbeit eines Kompilators anzusehen ist, sondern ein amtliches und zum Amtsgebrauche bestimmtes Dokument darstellt, wird von niemandem angezweifelt.<sup>15</sup> Strittig ist nur die Dienststelle, für welche sie bestimmt war. Bury<sup>16</sup> zieht aus der Stelle, Occ. XVI 4 und 5 *Sub cura viri spectabilis primicerii notariorum: Notitia omnium dignitatum et administrationum tam civilium quam militarium*, aus dem Umstande, daß sich beide Teile der *Notitia dignitatum* im Westen erhalten haben, sowie aus einigen textlichen Eigenheiten den Schluß, daß die *Notitia Occidentis* das Dienstexemplar des Primicerius des Westreiches, die *Notitia Orientis* aber eine ihm etwa im Jahre 426 zugesandte Kopie des Dienstexemplars des Primicerius des Ostreiches war.

Ich bin vollkommen überzeugt, daß diese Beamten, in deren Kanzleien die Ernennungsdekrete für alle höheren Beamten und Offiziere ausgefertigt wurden, hiefür einen Behelf, eben die *Notitia dignitatum*, haben mußten. Neben ihnen gab es aber viele Funktionäre, die das Handbuch für praktisch viel notwendigere Agenden benötigten, nämlich für den Verwaltungsdienst und für die Leitung des Heerwesens. Der Primicerius notariorum war Chef der kaiserlichen Kabinetsskanzlei, mithin ein reiner Zivilbeamter. Trotzdem sich in der römischen Beamtschaft ein gewisser militärischer Zug nicht verkennen läßt, war die Scheidung zwischen Verwaltung und Kriegsdienst gerade in dieser Zeit noch immer sehr scharf; und wenn sogar in den Grenzprovinzen, wo eine einheitliche Leitung oft recht wünschenswert gewesen wäre, diese Trennung bestand, so muß dies für die Zentralstellen umsomehr gegolten haben. Schon die ganze Zusammensetzung des Officium des Primicerius Notariorum, das nur aus Adjunkten und Schreibern vom Stande der Schola Notariorum bestand, spricht gegen eine militärische Funktion ihres Leiters. Wenn eine Zivilperson Kriegsminister ist, muß sie unter allen Umständen militärische Berater und Refe-

die für uns in Betracht kommenden Stellen aller übrigen Quellen so wenig zahlreich sind, daß sie leicht in den Kapiteln, auf die sie Bezug haben, besprochen und kritisch betrachtet werden können.

<sup>15</sup> Bury, *The Notitia dignitatum*, S. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Bury, a. a. O. S. 1 u. a.



renten haben. Von solchen ist aber im vorliegenden Falle nirgends die Rede.

Die Erhaltung einiger Exemplare der *Notitia dignitatum* im Westen ist ohne Belang. Die ältesten dieser Abschriften stammen ja erst aus dem XV. Jahrhundert, so daß aus ihnen für den Ursprungsort des Originals gar keine Anhaltspunkte gewonnen werden können.

Vergleicht man die beiden Teile der *Notitia dignitatum*, so sieht man, daß die Nachträge, wie die Fehler in denselben sich so ziemlich die Wagschale halten, ja

a) das einzige Kapitel, welches, wie Seecks Ausgabe der *Notitia dignitatum* beweist, nicht wie andere im Laufe der Zeit verloren ging, sondern gänzlich fehlt und sich nicht in den Rahmen des Werkes einfügen läßt, ist gerade eines im Westreiche (*vicarius Italiae*).

b) Die Kapitel, die zweifellos verschiedenen Zeiten entstammen, gehören zur *Notitia Occidentis* (V + VI und VII).

c) Die britannischen Kapitel (Occ. XXVIII, XL), denen auch Bury (S. 152, 154) wenigstens teilweise eine frühere Entstehungszeit zugesteht, sind gleichfalls im Occident.

Aus den Ausführungen Burys (S. 133 ff., 136) geht hervor, daß die ältesten nachweisbaren, nicht mehr durchgehends (sowohl im Index wie in den einzelnen Listen) durchgeführten Veränderungen bis etwa in das Jahr 386 zurückreichen. Bei aller Würdigung der von Bury vorgebrachten Gründe erscheint mir doch unwahrscheinlich, daß diese Richtigstellung bis zum Jahre 426 (wo nach Bury der Austausch der Kopien zwischen den beiden Reichen stattfand) nicht erfolgt sein sollte—es handelt sich um einen Zeitraum von 40 Jahren!—und daß man überdies (S. 133, 153) ein derart mangelhaftes Dokument für die Absendung nach Rom einfach abgeschrieben habe. Wie stünde dies im Einklang mit der Sorgfalt, die man in Constantinopel für dieses Werk aufgewendet haben soll (S. 139)?

Betrachten wir jene späteren Nachtragungen, die nach 405 entstanden sein müssen, so sehen wir, daß bei den Truppen im Westreiche eine einzige Abteilung<sup>17</sup> unter diese Kategorie fällt, im Ostreiche vielleicht einige Theodosiani. Die Berichtigungen

<sup>17</sup> Occ. VII 36 *Placidi Valentinianici felices*.

bei den Zivilämtern verteilen sich ziemlich gleichmäßig auf beide Reichshälften und betreffen vielfach gemeinsame Maßregeln.

Was können wir nun daraus schließen? Placidus Valentianus stand vollkommen unter der Leitung des Theodosius II. Dieser hat den Codex zusammenstellen lassen, der für den Osten wie für den Westen Gültigkeit hatte. Was liegt näher, als daß er als Ergänzung dazu auch eine Zusammenstellung der *Notitia dignitatum* veranlaßte?<sup>18</sup> Dieses Werk war damals, wie uns die Heereslisten untrüglich zeigen, nicht mehr aktuell. Es hatte nur mehr einen historischen Wert. So konnte es vorkommen, daß man darin Listen aufnahm, die einer anderen Zeit angehörten als der Großteil des Werkes. Ob dies aus Unachtsamkeit geschah oder weil man keine anderen Listen für die betreffenden Provinzen fand?—Gerade die Eigenarten der beiden Teile der *Notitia dignitatum* sprechen dafür, daß diese letzte Zusammenfassung, die Schlußredaktion, im Osten stattfand. Hier hatte man ein komplettes Exemplar samt den Titelbildern (Or. XLV). Für das Westreich standen, entweder in Constantinopel vorhandene oder von Rom beigestellte Listen, zur Verfügung und da nahm man, was man eben noch auftreiben konnte. In alle diese Verzeichnisse trug das mit der Zusammenstellung betraute Organ jene neueren Daten nach, die ihm bekannt waren, die aber natürlich keineswegs so zahlreich waren, daß sie das Bild des Reiches zu dieser Zeit (etwa 437/38) wiedergegeben hätten.

#### *Das Alter der Notitia dignitatum.*

Fragen wir nach dem Alter der *Notitia dignitatum*, so müssen wir wohl unterscheiden zwischen dem Alter der einzelnen Listen und der Schlußredaktion, da, wie schon Mommsen<sup>19</sup> erkannte, keineswegs alle Abschnitte aus derselben Zeit stammen, was besonders deutlich bei den britannischen Kapiteln (Occ. XXVIII, XL) zum Ausdruck kommt, von denen Mommsen<sup>20</sup> sagt, daß in ihnen "nicht eine sichere Spur nachdiocletianischer Abfassung zu finden ist, und die Vermutung immer mehr an Wahr-

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. Mommsen, Aetius (Hermes XXXVI, 1901, S. 516 f.), S. 544 f., wo die Schlußredaktion der *Notitia dignitatum* etwa in das Jahr 425 gesetzt wird.

<sup>19</sup> Eph. epigr. V (1884) S. 163.—Hermes XIX (1884) S. 231 f.—Hermes XXIV (1889) S. 204 Anm. 1; 214 Anm. 2; 257.—Vgl. Grosse, Militärgeschichte S. 28.

<sup>20</sup> Hermes XIX S. 233 f.

scheinlichkeit gewinnt, daß die beiden Abschnitte uns die militärischen Verhältnisse Britanniens nicht so darlegen, wie sie im Jahre 400, sondern vielmehr, wie sie um das 300 waren".

Bury (S. 146-153) versucht den Beweis zu führen, daß die britannischen Abschnitte den Stand des Jahres 428 darstellen und daß die Aufgabe der Insel durch die Römer vermutlich erst im Jahre 442 erfolgte, fügt jedoch bei (S. 152), daß der Wall vielleicht schon früher geräumt wurde und der betreffende Teil des Kapitels XL (32-56) durch ein Versehen stehen geblieben sei. Bezüglich der Besatzungstruppen lassen die oben erwähnten Ausführungen Mommsens keinen Zweifel für die Datierung etwa in das Jahr 300. Ich stimme in manchen anderen Fragen nicht mit Mommsen überein, ja sogar gerade hinsichtlich dieser Kapitel war ich ursprünglich zu einer anderen Auffassung geneigt; ich gestehe aber, daß mich die Argumente Mommsens vollkommen überzeugt haben. Ich vermute, daß die Kapitel XXVIII und XL in die erste Zeit der Reformen Constantins zurückgehen, da wir einerseits noch Numeri antreffen, von denen wir sonst in der ganzen *Notitia dignitatum* nur ein Beispiel<sup>21</sup> haben, anderseits aber bereits constantinische Schöpfungen: *Equites* und *Milites*.

Anders verhält es sich mit den Feldtruppen Britanniens. In *Occ. VII* sind sie angeführt, in *V* und *VI* fehlen sie, wie wir sehen werden, gänzlich. Ebenso fehlen in diesen Kapiteln 11 gallische Truppenkörper, also mithin ein recht beträchtlicher Bruchteil dieses Feldheeres. Die Namen mehrerer dieser Truppenkörper beweisen deutlich, daß sie nicht erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkte errichtet worden sein können, daß es sich mithin um Abteilungen handelt, die in der Zeit, die zwischen den verschiedenen Listen liegt, eingegangen sein müssen. Sowohl für die britannischen wie die gallischen Abteilungen finden wir eine Erklärung nur in der Maßregel des Stilicho, der im Winter 401/2 die britannischen und gallischen Feldtruppen zur Verteidigung Italiens heranzog. Von seinen Ergänzungsbezirken abgeschnitten, schwand das kleine britannische Feldheer bald in den schweren Kämpfen gegen Alarich, während man sich bei dem bedeutend größeren gallischen Feldheere durch Zusammenlegung der am meisten geschwächten Abteilungen half. Das

<sup>21</sup> *Occ. XXXV 32 numerus barcariorum.*

Ergebnis dieser Maßregel zeigen die Kapitel V und VI im Gegensatz zu VII.

Was nun die Truppen anbelangt, mit denen der Usurpator Constantin (407-411) über den Kanal setzte, so glaube ich, daß dies nur Neuaushebungen gewesen sein können, mithin eine Art Landsturm, der seine Kaders aus jenem Teil der Limitanei erhielt, der dem Usurpator anhing. Wenn auch der Gesamtwert der Limitanei als Kampftruppe der denkbar geringste war, so gab es doch gewiß unter ihnen noch manche tüchtige Offiziere und Unteroffiziere, die für den genannten Zweck treffliche Dienste leisten konnten. Von diesen sahen aber zweifellos nur die wenigsten den Boden Britanniens wieder, und dieser Umstand hat den Verfall der Römerherrschaft noch weiter beschleunigt. Wenn es dann in der Folge zu Aufständen kam, so waren dies weder Revolten gegen den Usurpator noch gegen Rom, sondern ein einfacher Akt der Selbsthilfe des durch den Feind, die Sachsen, bedrängten Volkes. Deshalb konnte auch Honorius (409) ohne sich irgendwie zu vergeben, diese Tat durch ein Dekret <sup>22</sup> sanktionieren.

Constantius <sup>23</sup> berichtet über einen, übrigens unblutigen Sieg über die vereinigten Streitkräfte der Sachsen und Pikten (etwa 429). Abgesehen von der legendären Form, in der diese Heiligungsgeschichte gehalten ist, gibt ihre Schilderung aber auch gar keinen Anhaltspunkt für die Annahme, daß wir es hier mit regulären römischen Truppen zu tun haben. Wir werden wohl nicht fehlgehen, wenn wir in ihnen den britannischen Landsturm erblicken, der in seinen Reihen gewiß viele durch die ständigen Kämpfe erprobte Krieger hatte.

Wenn wir dann hören, <sup>24</sup> daß im Jahre 442 Britannien unter die Herrschaft der Sachsen kam, so bezeichnet dies nicht den Augenblick der Aufgabe der Provinz durch Rom, nicht den Termin der Zurückziehung oder Auflösung der römischen Streitkräfte, sondern den Zeitpunkt, an dem man sich in Rom mit einem tatsächlich schon längst eingetretenen Zustande abfand. Die römischen Truppen in Britannien konnten jedoch weder zurückgezogen noch aufgelöst werden, da es damals schon längst keine mehr gab.

<sup>22</sup> Zosimos VI 10.

<sup>24</sup> Chron. Gall. 128, p. 660.

<sup>23</sup> Vita Germani 17.

*Die rheinischen Legionen.*

Die Notitia dignitatum zeigt uns das Bild der römischen Wehrmacht knapp vor dem Zusammenbruche im Westreiche. Das Schicksal der britannischen Truppen haben wir bereits besprochen. Nicht viel anders verhielt es sich an der Rheingrenze. Schon zur Zeit der Feldzüge Julians (356-361) scheint nicht mehr viel von ihnen bestanden zu haben. Abgesehen davon, daß Ammian ihrer an keiner Stelle Erwähnung tut, worauf wir uns schließlich nicht unbedingt verlassen dürfen, berichtet er ausdrücklich, daß die Germanen eine ganze Reihe von Grenzfestungen in ihren Händen hatten, so Argentoratum, Brocomagus, Tabernae, Saliso, Nemetae, Vangio und Mogontiacum (XVI 2), und daß Julian (359) castra Herculis, Quadriburgium, Tricesimae, Novesium, Bonna, Antumnacum und Bingio wieder eroberte (XVIII 2). Mithin sehen wir schon aus diesen zwei Stellen, daß von den ehemaligen 4 Legionslagern drei—Argentoratum, Mogontiacum und Tricesimae (Vetera)—verloren gegangen waren, und von dem vierten Legionslager, der Colonia Agrippina, heißt es weiter (355; XV 8): *indicabat autem Coloniam Agrippinam, ampli nominis urbem in secunda Germania, pertinaci barbarorum obsidione reseratam magnis viribus et deletam*. Die zerstörten Festungen wurden wohl, wie aus der Erzählung Ammians hervorgeht, wieder in Verteidigungsstand gesetzt, trotzdem sagt er aber (XXVII 10), daß Mogontiacum (368) ohne Besatzung (*praesidiis vacuum*) gewesen sei. Mit den germanischen Grenzlegionen muß es demnach sehr schlecht ausgesehen haben, und wir dürfen daher der Notitia dignitatum nicht den Vorwurf machen, daß sie für die Rheingrenze in Bezug auf die Legionen unvollständig sei.

Nachdem Stilicho die gallischen Feldtruppen abgezogen hatte, ging die Provinz bald darauf (406) durch den Sieg der Vandalen, Alanen und Sueben über die föderierten Franken und Alamannen, denen Stilicho die Verteidigung der Rheingrenze anvertraut hatte, vorübergehend gänzlich verloren; und als es später dem römischen Reiche gelang, in einzelnen Teilen von Gallien wieder festen Fuß zu fassen, da bestanden die römischen Heere nicht mehr aus den alten Einheiten, sondern fast durchwegs aus fremden Söldnern, wie es z. B. die hunnischen Truppen waren, mit denen Aetius (437) gegen Franken, Burgunder und Westgoten den Krieg führte.



*Die afrikanische Grenzlegion.*

Nicht viel anders, als sie hier geschildert wurden, werden sich die Verhältnisse in Afrika gestaltet haben, wo gleichfalls von der Grenzlegion III Augusta, die vormals ihr Standlager in Lambaesis hatte, keine Spur mehr erhalten ist.

*Die Donauprovinzen des Westreiches.*

Von den Donauprovinzen, die zum Westreiche gehörten, ging der größte Teil im Jahre 405 beim Einfall der Ostgoten, Gepiden und Hunnen unter Radagais verloren. Wenn die Gefahr, die hier Italien drohte, auch durch Stilichos Sieg bei Fiesole abgewendet wurde, so kann doch später nicht mehr von einer tatsächlichen römischen Herrschaft an der Donau, wie sie früher unter dem Schutz der Legionen bestand, gesprochen werden. Nachdem zuerst das erstarkende Hunnenvolk diese Gegenden beherrscht hatte, bildeten sich nach dem Tode Attilas (453) selbständige germanische Reiche an der Donau und Theiß. Die kurzen Momente, da sich die Macht Roms wieder über den Alpenwall fühlbar machte, reichten nicht hin, um eine der alten ähnliche Militärverwaltung einzuführen, wozu übrigens auch weder die Finanzkraft des Staates noch sein Menschenreservoir langten.

*Hispanien.*

Aehnlich, wie in Gallien und Afrika entstand auch in Hispanien (409) ein selbständiges germanisches Reich, welches das unwiderrufliche Ende der römischen Militärverwaltung bedeutete.

*Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Notitia Dignitatum.*

Die Notitia dignitatum ist nicht erst eine Einführung der spätrömischen Zeit. Von dem Augenblicke anfangen, als die römischen Truppen ständig in den Provinzen verteilt und an den Grenzen standen, war es ein unbedingtes Bedürfnis für die Zentralstellen, Listen der einzelnen Provinzialheere zu besitzen, um für jeden Bedarfsfall sofort zuverlässig orientiert zu sein, welche Streitkräfte verfügbar waren und eventuell an einer bedrohten Stelle eingesetzt werden konnten. Auch die Verzeichnisse,<sup>25</sup> welche Augustus bei seinem Tode hinterließ, waren im Grunde nichts anderes als unsere Notitia dignitatum, freilich damals noch in viel einfacherer Form. Diese Listen wurden bei

<sup>25</sup> Tacitus, Annal. I 11; Dio LVI 33.



den Zentralstellen evident gehalten, und von Zeit zu Zeit durch neue ersetzt, welche die unterstehenden Stellen einzusenden hatten. Solange alle Zentralstellen in Rom vereinigt waren, bestand die *Notitia dignitatum* nur aus einem Teile, der das ganze Reich umfaßte. Daran änderte sich auch nichts, als Constantin I die Zahl der *Praefecti Praetorio* auf 4 vermehrte (Zosimos II 33) und das Reich administrativ in 4 Teile schied, da der Kaiser noch immer die Reichseinheit repräsentierte, und diese Einheit blieb trotz der Teilung des Reiches unter den Söhnen Constantins in vielen Belangen aufrecht. Erst bei der Teilung der Regierungsgeschäfte zwischen Valentinian und Valens (365) wird der Wechsel eingetreten sein, da wir jetzt auch von einer völligen Trennung des militärischen Oberbefehls hören.<sup>26</sup> Das Jahr 365 ist daher das Datum der Teilung der *Notitia dignitatum* in getrennte Bücher für das Ostreich und das Westreich.

Die Wirren am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts, der Verlust mehrerer Provinzen lassen es begreiflich erscheinen, daß einerseits die Vorlage neuer Listen zum Teil unterblieb, anderseits aber auch die vorhandenen nicht evident gehalten wurden, nicht evident gehalten werden konnten, und daß schließlich sogar ein Teil der jüngsten Listen—ich verweise auf Britannien—in Verlust geriet oder bei irgend einem Anlasse zugrunde ging. Nur so lassen sich die sonst ganz unverständlichen Zeitunterschiede zwischen denselben erklären.

#### b. FEHLER UND AUSLASSUNGEN.

##### *Unterschiede zwischen Ost- und Westreich.*

Betrachten wir den militärischen Teil der *Notitia dignitatum*, so fällt uns sofort der bedeutende Unterschied zwischen der Abfassung im Ostreiche und im Westreiche auf, besonders in Bezug auf die Feldheere. Im Ostreiche stehen 5 Heere unter je einem *Magister Militum*. Von diesen Kommandanten haben 3 einen ganz bestimmten Bereich—Orient, Thrakien und den östlichen Teil von Illyrien—zugewiesen; die beiden anderen, die ihnen im Range vorangehenden *Magistri Militum Praesentales*, d. h. am Hoflager, befehligen hingegen Heere, die für das ganze Ostreich bestimmt sind, ohne an irgendwelche Provinzgrenzen gebunden zu sein. Im Westreich untersteht das gesamte Fußvolk dem *Magister Peditum Praesentalis*, die Reiterei dem *Magister*

<sup>26</sup> Ammian XXVI 5.

Equitum Praeentalis, und aus dieser Gesamtheit sind den 7 Feldheeren—Italien, westlicher Teil von Illyrien, Gallien, Hispanien, Tingitanien, Afrika, Britannien—die Truppen zugeteilt.

Die *Notitia Orientis* behandelt die Feldheere, nach den 5 Kommandanten getrennt in 5 Kapiteln und nennt hier jede Abteilung zweimal, bei den Abzeichen und bei der Aufzählung nach den verschiedenen Waffengattungen und Truppengattungen. In der *Notitia Occidentis* enthält je ein Kapitel sämtliche dem Magister Peditum und dem Magister Equitum unterstehenden Feldtruppen, während ein drittes Kapitel die 7 Feldheere aufzählt und zwar zuerst die Fußtruppen aller Armeen, dann ihre Reiterei. Gegen Schluß des Werkes ist dann noch ein Kapitel angehängt, in dem alle sonstigen dem Magister Peditum unterstellten Abteilungen—Hochseeflotten und Fluß-(Binnensee-) Flottillen, Laeti und Gentiles, Besatzungstruppen von Hispanien etc.—zusammengefaßt werden. Die Besatzungstruppen des binnenländischen Thrakien, dem Magister Militum per Thracias untergeordnet, erscheinen am Schlusse des Kapitels vom Dux Moesiae secundae.

#### *Die Notitia Orientis.*

Die Eigentümlichkeit der Abfassung der *Notitia Orientis* schließt eine gegenseitige Ueberprüfung durch Vergleich der entsprechenden Kapitel wie dies bei der *Notitia Occidentis* zum Teil möglich ist, leider aus. Nur ein einzigesmal können wir beim Magister Militum per Thracias (Or. VIII) die Legio Comitatus "Gratianenses", die, anscheinend durch einen Abschreibfehler, am Schlusse der Aufzählung der Waffen- und Truppengattungen ausgelassen wurde, aus dem den Abbildungen der Abzeichen beigefügten Texte ergänzen. Auch können wir feststellen, daß eine Anzahl von Abbildungen samt dem entsprechenden Texte entfallen ist.

Auf eine Korrektur betreffend den Namen einer Legion (Or. VII 47 I Flavia Theodosiana) führt uns ferner der Vergleich mit anderen von demselben Herrscher errichteten Abteilungen. Die *Notitia Orientis* zählt unter den Legiones Comitatus des Magister Militum per Orientem auf:

- Or. VII 44 I Flavia Constantia.
- 45 II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum.
- 46 II felix Valentis Thebaeorum.
- 47 I Flavia Theodosiana.

Ferner bei den Pseudocomitatenses des Magister Militum per Illyricum:

Or. IX 46 secundi Theodosiani.

Die beiden Legionen mit dem Beinamen Flavia Constantia (Or. 44; 45) erscheinen auf den ersten Blick als ein zusammengehöriges Paar. Daß dem aber nicht so ist, zeigt die zweimalige Wiederkehr der Gruppen: als Grenzlegionen:

I Maximiana (Or. XXXI 37).

II Flavia Constantia (Or. XXXI 32).

III Diocletiana (Or. XXVIII 18; XXXI 31; 33; 38).

als Legiones Comitatus:

I Maximiana Thebaeorum (Or. VIII 36).

II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum (Or. VII 45).

III Diocletiana Thebaeorum (Or. VIII 37).

Diocletian hatte die Gruppe der Grenzlegionen nach sich selbst, seinem Mitkaiser Maximian und dem Cäsar Flavius Constantius benannt. Das Verständnis für diese Kombination mag aber im Laufe der Zeit verloren gegangen sein, denn wir sehen in der Notitia dignitatum bei den Comitatus die beiden Legionen, deren Zusammenhang sinnfälliger war—I Maximiana und III Diocletiana — zusammen in Thrakien, die II Flavia Constantia hingegen, in ihrer Abstammung erkenntlich durch den Zusatz Thebaeorum (wo die gleichnamige Grenzlegion stand, aus der sie hervorgegangen ist) im Orient gemeinsam und unmittelbar hinter einer I Flavia Constantia, mit der sie ein Legionspaar<sup>27</sup> bildete.

Beim Magister Militum per Orientem wird ferner noch eine Legio Comitatus I Flavia Theodosiana angeführt. Wenn es nun auch nicht ausgeschlossen ist, daß Theodosius, der auch den Namen Flavius trug, eine Legion derart nach sich benannte, so hat diese Annahme, wie die Namen aller übrigen theodosianischen Truppenkörper zeigen, doch wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Eher dürfte es sich hier um einen Textfehler handeln. Zuerst dachte ich an einen solchen, ähnlich wie ihn Seeck

<sup>27</sup> Derartige Legionspaare sind vor allem die zusammengehörigen seniores und iuniores, dann aber auch Gebilde wie Martii-Minervii (Comitatus), I Italica—IV Italica (Pseudocomitatus) und viele andere.

erwähnt,<sup>28</sup> daß nämlich im Texte zwei Zeilen in eine zusammengezogen wurden. In unserem Falle hätte es dann ursprünglich gelautet:

I Flavia.

I Theodosiana.

Dagegen spricht aber schon die Tatsache, daß keine einzige der vielen Abteilungen mit dem Beinamen Flavia diese Bezeichnung allein trägt; wir müßten also auch noch die Auslassung eines wichtigen Bestandteiles des Namens voraussetzen. Nun sehen wir aber, daß von den 13 Abteilungen,<sup>29</sup> die sonst noch in der Notitia den Namen des Theodosius tragen, nur 3 einen besonderen Beinamen haben und zwar durchwegs "felices". Derselbe wiederholt sich auch bei den Söhnen des Kaisers u. zw. bei Arcadius zweimal,<sup>30</sup> bei Honorius fünfmal.<sup>31</sup> Ich vermute daher, daß der Wortlaut des Textes aus Flavia in felix zu verbessern ist, so daß er zu lauten hätte: I felix Theodosiana.

Mit der Legio Pseudocomitatensis Secundani Theodosiani hat diese Legion nichts gemein, da die Zählung aller nach Theodosius benannten Truppenkörper innerhalb jeder Kategorie ganz selbständig und von den anderen unabhängig ist.

Es scheint übrigens als ob auch der der I felix Theodosiana vorangehende Legionsname, II felix Valentis Thebaeorum, einer Korrektur bedürfe. Der Zusatz Thebaeorum kommt nämlich nur in Verbindung mit diocletianischen Grenzlegionen und den von diesen abgeleiteten Abteilungen vor. Besonders auffallend ist überdies in unserem Falle, daß unmittelbar vor der II felix Valentis Thebaeorum die II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum steht. Es liegt daher die Vermutung nahe, daß es sich um eine irrtümliche Wiederholung des Zusatzes handelt, und daß der Name richtig zu lauten hat: II felix Valentis.

Mit dieser Abänderung sind wir nun schon am Ende der auf diese Weise möglichen Berichtigungen der Notitia Orientis angelangt.

ERNST VON NISCHER.

WIEN.

(To be continued.)

<sup>28</sup> Zur Kritik der Notitia dignitatum, S. 231.

<sup>29</sup> Or. V 64; 65; 66; VI 33; 62; 64 = 66; 67; VII 57; VIII 27; 32; IX 41; 46; 47.

<sup>30</sup> Or. VI 63 = 65; VII 36.

<sup>31</sup> Or. V 62; VII 37; XXXI 40; XXXVI 22. Occ. V 247 = VII 89.

## THE HERO OF THE PHARSALIA.

Like the Iliad, Lucan's poem begins with a presage of woe:

Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos,  
Iusque datum sceleri canimus.

There is here no clarion "*Arma virumque cano*", nor is there at once presented an august personage, charged with a high commission, to the fulfillment of which he progresses, everywhere supported by the poet's sympathy and solicitude.

If the qualifications of a "hero" for this martial tale are thus defined, neither Caesar nor Pompey nor Cato measures up fully to the rôle, though their claims are very unequal.

Of Caesar it may be said that he is in the lime light from start to finish, and that he is the actor in the drama who carries through his programme to victory. But to this programme the poet professes to be violently opposed. He heaps abuse upon Caesar, and puts the worst possible construction upon his actions, holding him up for the execration of the reader. Surely Lucan did not set out to make a "hero" of Caesar.

For Pompey a somewhat better case can be claimed on the ground that the poet is in sympathy with his fight against Caesar, usually according him support and praise. But, at best, Pompey was an idol with feet of clay; and by Lucan's own showing he often falls below the heroic level. Moreover, following his withdrawal from the scene of action, he is overshadowed by the more commanding figure of Cato.

The claim of the last named leader calls for more detailed consideration. That he was not cast at the very start for the hero of the piece would seem to be indicated by the character of the scattered references to him in the earlier part of the poem, and by the fact that he does not come into view as a real participant in the drama until the ninth book is reached.

Before that point, he is mentioned in five passages, two of which are mere glancing references. Thus it is said of the wealth in the treasury that Cato had brought a part from Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> And, when lamenting the fact that Pompey did not

<sup>1</sup> iii. 164.



follow up his advantage in the battle near Dyrrachium, Lucan remarks that (among other things) Cato would not have had to die.<sup>2</sup>

In the earliest reference of all, the introduction of Cato's name might pass as merely conventional:

i. 126 ff.:

Quis iustius induit arma?  
Scire nefas: magno se iudice quisque tuetur:  
Vixit causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

At this stage of the poem, Lucan professes to be unable to decide whether the blame for the armed conflict lay more heavily upon Caesar or upon Pompey. In what is said above, Cato is referred to in his conventionally recognized character as "the good man" of his generation.<sup>3</sup> And while it is very complimentary to Cato to pair him with the gods, it is but an incidental reference lacking a technique fitting the introduction of the hero of an epic.

In the fifth passage, which is of some length,<sup>4</sup> there is better opportunity to judge of Lucan's attitude toward Cato when he undertook the writing of the *Pharsalia*. Noteworthy is the prosaic and unheroic introduction to the interview between Brutus and his uncle:

ii. 238:

Atria cognati pulsat non ampla Catonis.

The conversation that ensues does not begin on a high level. In response to a question of Brutus, Cato expresses his abhorrence of civil war, but feels that he cannot stand aloof, now that the die is cast. A higher note is struck in the wish that he, like the Decii, might save the state by becoming a sole sacrifice.<sup>5</sup>

The entrance of Marcia requesting remarriage motivates a weird and depressing scene, in which Cato's attitude is chill and abstracted;<sup>6</sup> and while the closing remarks on his character<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> vi. 311. In a third passage (i. 313) Caesar is represented as using the plural *Catonēs* contemptuously.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the remark of Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 4: . . . si modo est ulla virtus; quam dubitationem avunculus tuus, Brute, sustulit.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 234-391.

<sup>6</sup> Line 326 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Line 306 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Line 381 ff.



are in general complimentary, their lack of warmth is noticeable, and the reader is left with the impression of a hasty and condensed list of virtues.<sup>8</sup>

If at this point Lucan designed to introduce Cato as the hero of his epic, he certainly presents him in a light more likely to excite the derision than the admiration of the gay circle in which he moved, or the idle audiences before which he read.

But when Cato appears again in the ninth book, all is changed. He is no longer a squalid anchorite, but a magnetic leader of men. It is he that has reorganized the Pompeian forces after Pharsalus. He transports the army to Africa. His eloquence recalls the deserting Cilicians.<sup>9</sup> He heartens his followers to brave the dangers of the desert. He shares every hardship of the marching column, and he sits by the side of the dying.<sup>10</sup>

It is the released soul of Pompey that lays upon him the patriotic duty of continuing the struggle against Caesar,<sup>11</sup> a task which he undertakes unhampered by Pompey's spirit of self-seeking. Upheld by the consciousness of divinity within, he refuses to consult the oracle in Africa,<sup>12</sup> but marches away, steadfastly driving on to meet whatever fate has in store.

Lucan warms to this theme, and, though late, he seems to be developing a real hero for his poem. Had the work been carried on to include Thapsus, Cato doubtless would have gone forth in a veritable blaze of glory. It seems hardly likely that Lucan intended to stop short of that point.

Lacking a fully developed hero for the Pharsalia, would it be too fanciful to suggest the claims of a heroine, namely *Libertas*? Certainly she plays an outstanding part through the whole tragedy. At first she is exploited by rival partisans who use her name as a cloak for their selfish designs. After Pharsalus, she withdraws in despair beyond Roman boundaries, to an exile made permanent by Caesar's final victory and the establishment of an imperial house.

Perhaps Lucan began without any very definite notion as to a hero or heroine for his poem. But the fact remains that the

<sup>8</sup> Sallust's characterization (*Bell. Cat.* 54) may well be read in this connection.

<sup>9</sup> ix. 222 ff.

<sup>10</sup> ix. 881 ff.

<sup>11</sup> ix. 17 ff.

<sup>12</sup> ix. 564 ff.

vital issue throughout is between "liberty" and "tyranny"; and it is at least worth noting that *Libertas* often is clearly personified, as in her withdrawal after Pharsalus:

vii. 432 ff.:

Quod fugiens civile nefas redituraque numquam  
*Libertas* ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit,  
 Ac totiens nobis iugulo quaesita vagatur,  
 Germanum Scythicumque bonum, nec respicit ultra  
 Ausoniam.

So in the following:

vii. 695 ff.:

Sed par, quod semper habemus,  
*Libertas* et Caesar erit.<sup>13</sup>

From this point of view, some aspects of the poet's procedure are at once clarified:

Everything centers about the cause of Liberty. Against it Lucan sees a deadly blow aimed in the formation of the First Triumvirate,<sup>14</sup> of whose breaking up he regards the civil war as a natural sequence.<sup>15</sup>

At the outset, as already noted, the poet professes to be unable to determine whether it is Caesar who is more to blame for the armed strife.<sup>16</sup> But as he looks forward and sees in him the victorious founder of a *regnum*, it is inevitable that to Caesar should be assigned the rôle of villain in the piece. As the arch-enemy of *Libertas* he must be painted in the blackest colors.<sup>17</sup>

Quite aside from the question of general influences that might incline Lucan to side with Pompey, a proper balance here requires that this leader be revamped as the champion of *Libertas* against the assaults of Caesar. Lucan did not find it altogether easy to accomplish this, and at times he lets slip admissions which show how much Pompey is being "made up" for the part. The assignment, however, had an additional fitness in

<sup>13</sup> Cf. ii. 303, iii. 114, 138, vii. 580.

<sup>14</sup> i. 84 ff.

<sup>15</sup> i. 4 ff.: rupto foedere regni certatum.

<sup>16</sup> i. 126 ff.

<sup>17</sup> It should be noted that this attitude toward Caesar is manifested very early in the poem; e. g. in i. 145, 205, 476.

the fact that Pompey and the senate had long worked together; and it was at a gathering of senators in Epirus that he was formally invested with authority to wage war in behalf of the state against Caesar.<sup>18</sup> As above indicated, in Cato, as Pompey's successor, a much more fitting champion of *Libertas* was developed.

In making up Caesar for his part, Lucan certainly did a very thorough piece of business. His audiences doubtless wanted something "spicy", and in this the poet did not disappoint them. By misrepresentation and vilification he produces a character well suited to the present purpose.

As to Caesar's actual conduct in the civil war, our chief source of information, of course, is his own account, so far as that extends. But he wrote and published at a time when any lapse in veracity could be checked by a myriad of witnesses; and there is other evidence of great value, such as that provided by Cicero.

Certain it is that Caesar treated Roman foemen with a clemency that far surpassed the hope or expectation of those who might have been supposed to be in a position to form an opinion in advance. It was his preference, if possible, to save Roman blood by the use of strategy rather than of force.<sup>19</sup> Time and again he held out the olive branch, proposing peace without victory;<sup>20</sup> and justification is not lacking for the remark ascribed to him as he reviewed the stricken field of Pharsalus: "*hoc voluerunt*", i. e. "they would have it."<sup>21</sup>

Against the background of fact, it is interesting and instructive to examine Lucan's account of Caesar's behavior in connection with this pivotal battle. To start with, he is leagued with the powers of Hell:

vii. 168 ff.:

At tu, quos scelerum superos, quas rite vocasti  
Eumenidas, Caesar? Stygii quae numina regni  
Infernumque nefas et mersos nocte furores?  
Impia tam saeve gesturus bella litasti?

<sup>18</sup> v. 47 ff.

<sup>19</sup> B. C. i. 71 ff.

<sup>20</sup> E. g., B. C. iii. 19, 57.

<sup>21</sup> Suetonius, *Iul.* 30. 4.

On the battlefield he rages like a fiend incarnate, urging on the soldiers to their bloody work:

vii. 557 ff.:

Hic Caesar, rabies populi stimulusque furorum,  
Ne qua parte sui pereat scelus, agmina circum  
It vagus atque ignes animis flagrantibus addit;  
Inspicit et gladios, qui toti sanguine manent,  
Qui niteant primo tantum mucrone cruenti,  
Quae presso tremat ense manus, quis languida tela,  
Quis contenta ferat, quis praestet bella iubenti,  
Quem pugnare iuvet, quis voltum cive perempto  
Mutet; obit latis proiecta cadavera campis;  
Vulnera multorum totum fusura cruorem  
Opposita premit ipse manu. Quacumque vagatur,  
Sanguineum veluti quatiens Bellona flagellum  
Bistonas aut Mavors agitans, si verbere saevo  
Palladia stimulet turbatos aegide currus,  
Nox ingens scelerum est; caedes oriuntur, et instar  
Immensae vocis gemitus, et pondere lapsi  
Pectoris arma sonant confractique ensibus enses.  
Ipse manu subicit gladios ac tela ministrat  
Adversosque iubet ferro contundere voltus.  
Promovet ipse acies, impellit terga suorum,  
Verbere conversae cessantis excitat hastae.

Finding his old enemy Domitius dying on the ground, he taunts him brutally (606 ff.), and, sinking to the level of a bestial Vitellius,<sup>22</sup> he orders a feast spread in a place from which he can enjoy a view of the slain as he eats:

vii. 789 ff.:

Cernit propulsa cruore  
Flumina et excelsos cumulis aequantia colles  
Corpora, sidentis in tabem spectat acervos,  
Et Magni numerat populos, epulisque paratur  
Ille locus, voltus ex quo faciesque iacentum  
Agnoscat.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Suetonius, *Vit.* 10. 3; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 70.

<sup>23</sup> The absurd character of this abuse is shown in the description of the attack of the Alexandrians upon the palace where Caesar was stopping. According to Lucan, that veteran of a hundred battles was scared almost out of his senses:

x. 454 ff.:

Quem non violasset Alanus,  
Non Scythia, non fixo qui ludit in hospite Maurus,  
Hic, cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis

Aside from outright misrepresentation, the most unworthy designs are freely ascribed to Caesar,<sup>24</sup> and the worst interpretation is put upon his actions. According to Lucan, Caesar's grief at the sight of Pompey's head is all a pretense, and he is an arrant hypocrite in uttering lines that rank easily with the noblest in the whole poem:

ix. 1097 ff.:

"Laeta dies rapta est populis. Concordia mundo  
Nostra perit. Caruere deis mea vota secundis,  
Ut te complexus positis felicibus armis  
Adfectus a te veteres vitamque rogarem,  
Magne, tuam, dignaque satis mercede laborum  
Contentus par esse tibi; tunc pace fideli  
Fecissem, ut victus posses ignoscere divis,  
Fecisses, ut Roma mihi."<sup>25</sup>

Artful suggestion almost surpassing the Tacitean variety is well illustrated in a passage which has to do with the desperate state to which the Pompeians were reduced by lack of water when they were trying to win a way back to the shelter of Ilerda:

iv. 319 ff.:

O fortunati, fugiens quos barbarus hostis  
Fontibus inmixto stravit per rura veneno.  
Hos licet in fluvios saniem tabemque ferarum,  
Pallida Dictaeis, Caesar, nascentia saxis  
Infundas aconita palam, Romana iuventus  
Non decepta bibet.

---

Parvaeque regna putet Tyriis cum Gadibus Indos,  
Ceu puer inbellis, ceu captis femina muris,  
Quaerit tuta domus, spem vitae in limine clauso  
Ponit et incerto lustrat vagus atria cursu.

The spotlight flickers, the caricature fades out, and suddenly the real Caesar appears in 488 ff.:

Sed adest defensor ubique  
Caesar et hos aditus gladiis, hos ignibus arcet,  
Obsessusque gerit (tanta est constantia mentis)  
Expugnantis opus.

<sup>24</sup> Such as a willingness to destroy and plunder Rome (v. 305 ff.; cf. vii. 758 ff.). As for the fact, see v. 270 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Lucan here has rather overreached himself. With due allowance for the fact that Caesar's clemency was perhaps a matter more of policy than of sentiment, the poet makes him say just the right thing here. The words ring true.

The Romans scorned the use of poison in warfare, even against foreigners.<sup>26</sup> Caesar's name is brought in quite gratuitously in this connection; but the fact that he is addressed here carries the subtle suggestion that he might easily be capable of such a crime.

Casting Pompey for a more desirable part, Lucan yet allows the keen-sighted Cato to see that he was just as selfishly ambitious as his rival.<sup>27</sup> He would willingly pay a high price for the head of Caesar torn off.<sup>28</sup> And the pusillanimous character of his flight after Pharsalus is by no means covered up.<sup>29</sup>

Pompey's futility as a leader is strikingly portrayed in the failure of his speeches to carry conviction to the audiences addressed, as when he tries to persuade his troops to make a stand in Italy against Caesar.<sup>30</sup> Later he is shown in a light that might almost be called pitiable in the council called together in Asia Minor to plan for the further conduct of the war.<sup>31</sup>

There he suggests the unpatriotic expedient of enlisting the Parthians to help in defeating Caesar, noting, apparently with satisfaction, that they would not scruple to use poisoned weapons; and he adds, with a suggestion of Greek cunning,<sup>32</sup> that the Parthians might so be used up and killed off, thus relieving the Roman world of a menace of long standing. To these proposals the manly and plain-spoken Lentulus makes fitting rejoinder, and Pompey is pushed aside like a nonentity in a gathering which he should have dominated.

As loser in the struggle and foully murdered, Pompey's fate doubtless made an appeal to the sympathies of Lucan;<sup>33</sup> at any

<sup>26</sup> See the discussion of Horace, *Carm.* i. 22 in the *Classical Journal*, XVI, 536 ff. Cf. also Valerius Maximus, vi. 5. 1.

<sup>27</sup> ii. 320 ff. Tacitus also lists Pompey among the enemies of "liberty", remarking that he was "more diplomatic but not better" than the others:

*Hist.* ii. 38. 3: *mox e plebe infima C. Marius et nobilium saevissimus Sulla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior non melior.*

<sup>28</sup> viii. 11 ff.

<sup>29</sup> See especially viii. 5 ff.

<sup>30</sup> ii. 596.

<sup>31</sup> viii. 262 ff.

<sup>32</sup> One is reminded here of the stories told by Nepos of the tricks of the Greeks, and of attempts to enlist the Persians in Greek quarrels.

<sup>33</sup> See vii. 210 ff.



rate, toward the end, he seems moved to retire this actor from the scene with a generous show of dignity; e. g.

vii. 680 ff.:

Non gemitus, non fletus erat salvaque verendus  
Maiestate dolor, qualem te, Magne, decebat  
Romanis praestare malis.<sup>34</sup>

viii. 629 ff.:

"Spargant lacerentque licebit,  
Sum tamen, o superi, felix, nullique potestas  
Hoc auferre deo."<sup>35</sup>

viii. 663 ff.:

At Magni cum terga sonent et pectora ferro,  
Permansisse decus sacrae venerabile formae  
Iratamque deis faciem, nil ultima mortis  
Ex habitu voltuque viri mutasse fatentur,  
Qui lacerum videre caput.<sup>36</sup>

After his death, the spirit of Pompey suffers a sort of apotheosis, rising to the upper spaces that are the home of the demigods.<sup>37</sup>

In his championship of *Libertas* against the evil designs of Caesar, it is not to be supposed, of course, that Lucan is putting himself forward as a statesman advocating the restoration of the old republican regime as a cure for the ills of his own day. To him *Libertas*, as an academic theme, was an effective subject for declamation.<sup>38</sup>

That his poem was so conceived and so understood seems perfectly clear from the internal evidence. That it was a deliberate attack upon the house of the Caesars is altogether unlikely.

In judging of this matter, account must be taken of what happened to others; e. g.

<sup>34</sup> This when in cowardly flight from the field of Pharsalus!

<sup>35</sup> Reflections of Pompey after he was attacked by the assassins.

<sup>36</sup> Note *viri* in line 666.

<sup>37</sup> ix. 3 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Somewhat as Cicero fulminates against Catiline and all his works. On this his own remark is illuminating: *ad Att.* i. 14. 4: "de inter-mortuis reliquiis coniurationis. . . . Nosti iam in hac materia sonitus nostros."

Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 34. 1: Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius Cordus postulatur novo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset.<sup>39</sup>

Here, under Tiberius, a man loses his life for praising Brutus and referring to Cassius as "the last of the Romans." So, in the time of Domitian, the nephew of Otho suffered a like fate for celebrating the birthday of his uncle.<sup>40</sup> After the affair of Piso's conspiracy, Nero, too, had an eye for treason everywhere, and took action accordingly, as in the case of Cassius Longinus, a blind lawyer, whose crime it was to have retained in a place of honor among the masks of the family that of the regicide of the same name.<sup>41</sup>

But Lucan worked on his academic theme apparently unconcerned and certainly not checked, though he has things to say that might be dangerous enough, if taken seriously. So his remarks on Curio, who fell in Africa:

iv. 821:

Ius licet in iugulos nostros sibi fecerit ense  
Sulla potens Mariusque ferox et Cinna cruentus  
*Caesareaque domus series*, cui tanta potestas  
Concessa est?

So also the apostrophe to Brutus, when he is represented as prowling about the field of Pharsalus, looking for a chance to surprise and strike down Caesar:

vii. 588:

O decus imperii, spes o suprema senatus,  
Extremum tanti generis per saecula nomen!<sup>42</sup>

It might seem that the line was overstepped in such a reference as the following, in which the deified emperors are represented in the dungeon of Tartarus, under the feet of the more happily situated members of the Pompeian family:

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 61. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Suetonius, *Dom.* 10. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Suetonius, *Nero* 37. 1, Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 7.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. viii. 608 ff.

vi. 807 ff.:

Properate mori magnoque superbi  
Quamvis e parvis animo descendite bustis  
*Et Romanorum manes calcate deorum.*

Perhaps Nero's ribald attitude toward the deified Claudius may have caused Lucan to feel less need of circumspection in touching such a matter.<sup>48</sup>

In view of the misrepresentation and abuse he suffers throughout the *Pharsalia*, particular interest attaches to a passage in which Caesar, in his pursuit of Pompey, visits the scenes of the Trojan war. As he views the vanishing memorials of the famous dead, Lucan as it were throws an arm about Caesar's neck, and in a confidential and almost "chummy" aside, begs him not to be jealous of the fame of the mighty heroes of old, because his own great career will be immortalized by the poem now in the writing!

ix. 980 ff.:

O sacer et magnus vatum labor, omnia fato  
Eripis, et populis donas mortalibus aevum.  
Invidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere famae;  
Nam, si quid Latii fas est promittere Musis,  
Quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt vatis honores,  
Venturi me teque legent; Pharsalia nostra  
Vivet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aevo.

Lucan seems to have composed as the spirit moved, or as the argument of his theme demanded. For him there was a vast change from the time when Horace wrote to Pollio:

*Carm.* ii. l. 6 ff.:

Periculosae plenum opus aleae  
Tractas, et incedis per ignis  
Suppositos cineri doloso.

Hence, far along toward the end of the extant poem, he does not hesitate to call upon Rome to have the ashes of Pompey gathered up and brought back for proper honor and burial:

viii. 837 ff.:

Si saecula prima  
Victoris timuere minas, nunc excipe saltem  
Ossa tui Magni.

<sup>48</sup> See Suetonius, Nero 33. 1, and cf. [Seneca], *Oct.* 449.

To entertain the blasé audiences at the *recitationes* was one thing; it was quite another to join Piso's conspiracy. Toward the license of writers Augustus had shown himself indulgent; <sup>44</sup> and that Nero was not constitutionally thin-skinned is attested by Suetonius:

*Nero* 39. 1: Mirum et vel praecipue notabile inter haec fuerit nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convicia hominum tulisse, neque in ullos leniorem quam qui se dictis aut carminibus lacessissent extitisse.

But it is not unnatural that he should have become more suspicious and cruel after the attempt made against his life.

H. C. NUTTING.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

<sup>44</sup> Suetonius, *Tib.* 61. 3.

## GOTHIC NOTES.

### I. *þai ubilaba habandans* (οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες), Mk. 2, 17.

With this intransitive usage of *haban* (= Germ. *sich befinden*) with an adverb (*ubilaba*) compare ON *hafa vel, illa* 'to be happy, unhappy'. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the Gothic construction represents a mere loan translation from the Greek, as H. V. Velten ("Studies in Gothic Vocabulary", *JEGPh.*, 29, 345) contends. While Wulfila no doubt used the adverb *ubilaba* in imitation of the Grk. κακῶς, nevertheless the parallel with the ON idiom points towards the conclusion that the adverbial usage was in accord with the native Gothic idiom.

There can be no suspicion of Grk. influence in the case of ON *hafa vel, illa* (= Grk. ἔχειν καλῶς, κακῶς). The shift from transitive to intransitive in the case of ON *hafa* : Goth. *haban*, just as in the case of Grk. ἔχειν, may be explained as due to an impersonal object understood; cf. OHG *ez guot habēn* 'to have [things] well', 'to be well off' = Dan.-Norw. *ha det godt*.

The fact that Wulfila elsewhere prefers the transitive use of *haban* with a direct object *ubil* (subst. usage of the adj.) (cf. *þai ubil habandans*, οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες; Mat. 8, 16; Mk. 1, 32, 34; 6, 55, similarly *aftumist* (subst. usage of the adj.) *habaiþ*, ἐσχάτως ἔχει, Mk. 5, 23) does not militate against my hypothesis, for the two idioms (trans. and intrans. verb) could very well have existed side by side. From the isolated case of the intransitive usage of *haban* (Mk. 2, 17) we may infer, however, that this usage had not become so wide-spread as in the later ON period.

### II. *Hwan filu* 'how much'.

In conjunction with an adjective (cf. *hwan aggwu*, Mat. 7, 14) or with an adverb (cf. *hwan filu*, Mk. 7, 36) the interrogative particle *hwan* means 'how', otherwise 'when'. This semantic relation has, so far as I know, never been explained.

The adverbial particle *hwan* is derived from the interrogative pronoun *hwa* with *n*-ending (instrumental-ablative),<sup>1</sup> parallel to *þan* from the demonstrative pronominal stem, *þa-ta*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, I, § 149, B, II, 3; K. Brugmann, *IF.*, 27, 159.

The original sense of *hwan* : *pan* could, therefore, have been 'by what much' : 'by that much'. In the case of *pan* this sense is obviously present after comparatives in the phrase *pan-a* [-*mais*, -*seips*]<sup>2</sup> 'by that much more' > 'further, still'. *pan* 'then' must have originally signified 'by that much [time]'.

Just as *pan*[-*a*] had both a temporal ('then') and a measurement ('by that much') force, so likewise *hwan* (cf. *hwan* 'when' and *hwan filu mais* 'by how much more').

From the parallel between *pan*[-*a*] and *hwan* it is evident that the semantic development of Goth. *hwan* was not from 'when' to 'how' but that the sense of 'how' in *hwan filu* represents an independent development from original 'by what' (cf. OE *tó hwon* 'for what', *for hwon* 'why').

*Hwan* 'how' (measurement) was later discarded in the Germ. languages in favor either of the regular instrumental form of the pronoun *hwa* (cf. ON *hvé* : *hví* = old locative, OE *hú*) or of the adverb *hwaiwa* (cf. OHG-OS *hwio*). Already in Gothic this tendency had begun (cf. *hwe managizo*, Mat. 5, 47, *hwaiwa mais*, Mat. 6, 30).

### III. The Indefinite Particle *pis-* in *pis-hwazuh*, *pis-hwah*, etc.

Wilmanns<sup>3</sup> connects Goth. *pis-* here with OHG -*des*, -*thes*, -*tes*, etc. in *eddes-*, *ethes-*, *etes-wer*, -*waz* 'someone, something or other'. Evidently Goth. *pis-* (= OHG -*des* in *ed-des-*) represents a *genitive of manner* = 'in this manner, thus, so' (cf. *filaus*, *raihtis*, *allis*, etc.).

The *pis-*<sup>4</sup> in *pis-hwazuh saei* [*ei*, *pei*] could then have the same force as, e. g., the OHG adverbial *so*<sup>1</sup> in *so hwer so*, i. e., *pis-* : *so* represent adverbial correlatives to *saei* : *so* ('anyone such as' = 'whoever'). Both Goth. *pis-* and OHG *so* acquired their indefinite force from the indefinite particle with which they were connected.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ON *pá en meira*, OHG *danahalt* (cf. Goth. *ni þe haldis*, Skeir. 4, 22), *dana mēr*, OS *than mēr*, OE *pan mā*.

For *pana* in this construction see G. W. Small, *The Comparison of Inequality* (Johns Hopkins Dissertation), p. 80; also *MLN*, XLI, 300-313, and *PMLA* XLV, 368 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, § 430.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly *pis-* in *pis-hwazuh ei*, *pis-hwaruh ei*, 'whithersoever', 'wheresoever'.



IV. *Frapþjan* and the Dative Case.

*Frapþjan* is one of the few verbs governing both the accusative and the dative case but with a difference in meaning. With the accusative *frapþjan* means 'to have an opinion, think' (cf. Rom. 12, 16, *þata samo in izwis misso frapþjandans*, τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονοῦντες, "Being of the same mind one toward the other"), with the dative 'to understand' (cf. L. 2, 50, *jah ija ni froþun þamma waurda*, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ συνῆκαν τὸ ῥῆμα, "And they did not understand the word").

Erdmann<sup>5</sup> classifies this dative as a locative ("verständlich sein in etwas"). Delbrück<sup>6</sup> with some hesitation classifies it (by virtue of its connection with Lith. *prantù* 'werde gewohnt') as a *genuine* dative.

Neither of these two explanations seems to me satisfactory.

As regards the locative case, with verbs of perception the locative regularly refers to the *seat of perception* (heart, mind, soul, etc.) and not to the *thing* perceived (cf., e. g., Mk. 2, 8 *ufkunnands Jesus ahmin seinamma*, ἐπιγινούς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι "Jesus perceiving in his spirit").

It is doubtful if Lith. *prantù* 'werde gewohnt' throws any light upon the nature of the dative with Goth. *frapþjan*, as Delbrück maintains. It is at least not necessary to assume that the Lith. verb represents the original IE construction.

On the other hand, if we consider the dative after *frapþjan* as a dative of respect ("Dativ der Beziehung")—which according to Delbrück<sup>7</sup> represents an original instrumental—we have an interpretation quite in accord with a well established Germ. idiom.

The *dative of respect* denotes in what particular respect the verbal action is true (cf., e. g., L. 2, 52 *Iesus þaiþ frodein jah wahstau jah anstai*, Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτεν σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι, "Jesus grew (throve) in [respect to] wisdom, stature and grace").

Just as after the verb *þeiþan* the dative denotes in what respect one *thrives*, so after the verb *frapþjan* the dative denotes in what respect one is *intelligent*; i. e., *ija ni froþun þamma*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. O. Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, II, § 305.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. B. Delbrück, *Synkretismus*, chap. VI, § 38.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, chap. V, § 26.

*waurda* (L. 2, 50), "They were not intelligent in respect to the word" = "They did not understand the word".

There is no reason why we should not assume the verb *frapþjan* as equivalent in force to the corresponding adjective *frops* plus the substantive verb *wisan*. After adjectives this dative of respect was of common occurrence in Germanic, — cf. Goth. *gaskohai fotum*, ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας, "Being shod as to your feet" = "Having shod your feet" (Eph. 6, 15); ON *blindr augum* 'blind in [respect to] the eyes,' *fríðr synum* 'beautiful in appearance', etc. I cannot see that the dative after Goth. *frapþjan* differs in nature from these datives after adjectives; with Goth. *ni froþum þamma waurda* compare OE *giddum frōð* (*Elene*, 531) 'wise in speech'.

V. *þatain* (subst. or adv.) 'one, only': *þatainei* (adv.) 'only'.

The demonstrative suffix *-ei* was obviously added to *þatain* in order to distinguish the purely substantival usage of *þatain* (cf. *þatain* (êv) *wait*, J. 9, 25) from its adverbial usage (cf. *ni þatain*, *ak jah*, "Not only, but also", Rom. 9, 10).

For a direct parallel to the adverbial accusative *þatain* 'only' compare ON *þat eina* 'only', as in "fóru þat eina með bygðum" (*Heimskr.*, 124, 17) "They only went near the villages."

VI. *Andizuh* [-*aiþþau*] 'either [-or]'.

The word *andizuh* (<\**andiz* + *uh*) occurs only once (L. 16, 13), and as a correlative to *aiþþau* (ǣ—ǣ) 'either—or'. There can be no doubt that Goth. \**andis* represents the comparative form<sup>8</sup> of *and-*: *and-a-* 'towards, along', identical with ON *endr* 'formerly', 'back again', OE *end*: OHG *enti* 'formerly'.

Undoubtedly the comparative form *andiz* [-*uh*] is due to the fact that *two*<sup>9</sup> propositions (*either—or*) are under consideration; one proposition is compared with the other.

If we may assume *and* to have retained the earlier sense of 'towards, in front of' (cf. Skr. *ánti*: Grk. *ávρί* 'in front of')

<sup>8</sup> Cf. S. Feist, *Etym. Wtb. der got. Sprache* under *andizuh*; A. Fick, *Vgl. Wtb. der indo-germ. Sprachen*, under *anþiz*, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. NHG *entweder* < OHG *ein-de-weder* lit. 'one of two things' > 'either'; similarly Dan.-Norw. *eller* 'or' (< ON *eller* comp. < *elligar* < Goth. *aljaleikos* comp.).

the comparative form *and-iz* (-*uh*) could then have meant '[standing] before [us] in one of *two* [comp.] ways', i. e., 'whether the question is *turned this way or that*' > 'either'. For the change from the place idea in *andiz*[-*uh*] 'in front of' to the conditional idea 'either' compare NHG *ob* (lit. 'over') 'whether' and Dano-Norw. *om* (lit. 'around') 'whether' ("ich weiss nicht *ob*"; "jeg ved ikke *om*").

ON *endr* 'formerly' developed a sense much like that of Goth. *andizuh*; cf., e. g., "*endr* annan veg en *endr*", "now one way, now another". Here ON *endr* obviously represents an absolute comparative 'sooner than usual' > 'now' (cf. NHG *bald*—*bald*). But the conception 'now—now' simply expresses in temporal terms the same idea as 'either—or', i. e., two possible alternatives.

#### VII. *Soh framaldra dage managaize*, L. 2, 36.

Streitberg<sup>10</sup> classifies the genitive *dage managaize* as a *genitive of time*. This classification is misleading inasmuch as the function of the genitive case here is not to express time (as, e. g., in *gistradagis* or in *dagis hwizuh* which Streitberg includes in the same category) but to qualify the adjective *framaldra*, i. e., 'progressed in age by many days' (cf. NHG *alt an Tagen*, Eng. *ancient of days*).

Behaghel<sup>11</sup> correctly designates this genitive as a "Gen. der Beziehung"; similarly Erdmann<sup>12</sup> "Als freiere Bestimmung zur Fixierung des Gebietes der Eigenschaft". Streitberg's inaccurate classification of the genitive *dage managaize* was no doubt due to the fact that *dage* 'of days' in itself denoted time.

#### VIII. Regarding Attraction of Mood in Dependent Clauses.

In regard to the use of the optative (=subjunctive) mood in temporal clauses (except when introduced by *faurpizei*) Streitberg says:<sup>13</sup> "Hie und da kann der Optativ des Temporalsatzes auch durch Angleichung an einen Optativ des übergeordneten

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Got. Elementarb.*,<sup>5-6</sup> § 267, 2: "Ein Genitiv der Zeit findet sich auch L. 2, 36 . . . ."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. O. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, I, § 399, A, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Erdmann, *op. cit.*, II, § 250.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, § 360, 2.

Satzes erklärt werden. Vgl. z. B. *þan taujais armaion, ni haurnjais faura þus . . . M 6, 2, u. ö.*"

Streitberg states no reason in support of this theory, simply because there is none. His interpretation seems to me based on appearances and therefore purely mechanistic.

We can not properly speak of an attraction ("Angleichung") of mood unless we may assume that the indicative mood would have been used in the temporal clause, had not the independent clause been in the optative. In that case the indicative mood in the temporal clause would have had reference to actual time and not implied any hypothetical coloring. But such is not the case, since the conjunction *þan* here obviously lends a hypothetical coloring (*þan taujais armaion* = "when (if) thou doest alms") and the fact that this temporal clause is attached to an optative (imperative) has no bearing on the question of modal attraction; cf. *ip þu þan bidjais, gagg in heþjon þeina*, Mat. 6, 6. If in the latter example there can be no possibility of modal attraction, why are we justified (as Streitberg contends) in assuming the possibility of such an attraction in the former case [*þan taujais armaion, ni haurnjais . . .*]?

The optative *taujais* (with hypothetical *þan*) in our sentence can not be explained as due to attraction to *ni haurnjais* any more than, e. g., in the sentence *warþ, biþe is anakumbida in garda is* (Mk. 2, 15) the indicative *anakumbida* ("when he was reclining", actual time) can be explained as due to attraction to the indicative *warþ* of the principal clause.

IX. *Bi biuhtja gudinassaus hlauts imma urrann du saljan, atgaggands in alh frauþins* (κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱερατείας ἔλαχεν τοῦ θυμᾶσαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου), "According to the custom of the priest's office his lot was (lit. "the lot turned out for him") to burn incense, having gone into the temple of the Lord" (i. e., "to go into the temple of the Lord and burn incense"), L. 1, 9.

As Friedrichsen<sup>14</sup> points out, the Gothic *hlauts imma urrann du saljan* is no doubt a rendering of the Latin *sors exiit ut incensum poneret*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. G. W. S. Friedrichsen, *The Gothic Version of the Gospels* (London, 1926), pp. 174, 184-5, 194.

The Gothic infinitive of purpose *du saljan* renders the Latin purpose clause *ut incensum poneret*, whereas the corresponding Greek infinitive τοῦ θυμᾶσαι represents a substantive usage; a partitive genitive object of ἔλαχεν ("he obtained by lot the burning of incense").

The use of the Gothic infinitive *du saljan* after *hlauts urrann* requires, unlike the Latin (*ut incensum poneret*), the addition of the dative pronoun *imma*<sup>15</sup> and we should therefore have expected in place of the nom. sing. *atgaggands*<sup>16</sup> the dat. sing. *\*atgaggandin* in agreement with the pronoun *imma*.

The nominative sing. form *atgaggands* must therefore be explained as an anacoluthon in conformity with the Lat. *ingressus* = Grk. εἰσελθὼν. This fact seems to have been overlooked by commentators.<sup>17</sup>

X. *Hairto auk galaubeiþ du garaihtipai, iþ munþa andhaitada du ganistai* (καρδίᾳ γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογῆται εἰς σωτηρίαν), "For the heart believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation", Rom. 10, 10.

In the Greek both verbs are passive πιστεύεται = "he is believed", ὁμολογῆται = "he is confessed", in the Gothic the passive construction is preserved only in the second clause (*andhaitada* = ὁμολογῆται).

There seems to be no syntactical reason why the Gothic scribe should not likewise have preserved the passive construction in the first clause, i. e., *\*hairtin auk \*galaubjada*<sup>18</sup> *du garaihtipai* = καρδίᾳ γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην. But the passive construction (especially with the so-called medio-passive verbs) was on the wane and evidently the Gothic scribe here felt the active construction as more suitable to the current idiom of his speech. But in rendering the Greek passive construction καρδίᾳ γὰρ

<sup>15</sup> Which, according to Friedrichsen (pp. 184-5) accounts for the *illi* of e (*sors illi exiit*), in the Latin portion of the Palatinian Bilingual.

<sup>16</sup> Otherwise *atgaggands* formally agrees with *hlauts*, not with *imma*.

<sup>17</sup> Neither Friedrichsen (*op. cit.*) nor Streitberg (*Got. Bibel*<sup>2</sup>; *Got. Elementarb.*<sup>5-6</sup> under *Syntax*, 164 ff.) comments on this construction.

<sup>18</sup> It is not necessary to preserve the dative rection in the passive voice; cf. Streitberg, *op. cit.*, § 241.



πιστεύεται by the active <sup>19</sup> *hairto auk galaubeiþ* ("for his heart believes") the Gothic scribe has mistranslated the original, for the thought of the Greek original is that "a man is believed by (what he feels in) his heart"<sup>20</sup> and not that "his heart believes".

Often a passive verb with indefinite subject is rendered in Gothic by an active verb, 3rd pers. plur. (cf. ἡκούσθη = *frehun* "it was heard" = "they heard", Mk. 2, 1). But if in this case \**galaubjand* had been used to render πιστεύεται (i. e., "they believe [him]" = "he is believed", cf. Germ. *man glaubt ihm*), the dative \**hairtin* would have had reference not to *his* believing but to *their* believing, i. e., \**hairtin auk \*galaubjand* "with their hearts they believe him" = "with *their* hearts he is believed".

Such a misinterpretation of \**hairtin* is, however, not possible with the active form *galaubeiþ*, 3rd pers. sing., i. e., \**hairtin auk galaubeiþ* "for with his heart he believeth", cf. Luther, "Denn so man von Herzen glaubt".

Evidently, however, the Gothic scribe avoided the dative construction in favor of the nominative *hairto auk galaubeiþ*, thereby personifying καρδιά so that in the poetic biblical phraseology *hairto* 'the heart' was equivalent in thought to 'one in his heart' (cf. *uzuh allis ufarfullein hairtins rodeid munþs is*, "For out of the abundance of his heart *his* mouth speaketh," L. 6, 45, where the same rhetorical figure is used, i. e., "his mouth speaketh" = "he speaks with his mouth").

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

<sup>19</sup> There can be no question of Latin influence here; cf. *vg.* "Corde enim creditur ad justitiam", which is a literal rendering of the Greek.

Streitberg (*Got. Bibel*<sup>2</sup> under this passage) does not call attention to the discrepancy between the Gothic and the Greek idiom, nor does he quote this passage as an example of the substitution of the active voice for the Greek passive (*Got. Elementarb.*,<sup>5-6</sup> § 287).

<sup>20</sup> [EDITORIAL NOTE.—The author has evidently been lost in a maze. Both πιστεύεται and ὁμολογείται are here impersonal (cf. Blass-Debrunner, *Gram. d. NT Griech.*,<sup>4</sup> § 130, 1): 'credence is given' (with the heart), 'confession is made' (with the tongue). Hence, by a common personification, "the heart believeth" (so the AV), and 'the tongue confesseth' (which would have been an appropriate rendering).—C. W. E. M.]



## INCOMMENSURABLE NUMBERS AND THE EPINOMIS

[A new interpretation of *Epinomis* 990 C-D is proposed.]

The belief has been generally held that Greek mathematics admitted incommensurable magnitudes, but not incommensurable numbers. This belief is completely in accord with the definitions of number which are preserved to us.<sup>1</sup> And Iamblichus, in *Nicomachi Arithmetica*, Pistelli, p. 91, says expressly: ἴδιον δὲ ἀριθμοῦ τὸ μὴδὲ ἀσυμμετρίαν ἔχειν, τῶν μεγεθῶν ἐχόντων. The elaborate theory of quadratic surds in Euclid, *Elements* X, is purely geometrical.

Certain scholars, however, some probably inadvertently, without entire understanding of the issue, some with full knowledge, have found incommensurable numbers in the *Epinomis*. In the first group fall Ast and Stallbaum, together with Fr. W. Wagner, who translated Plato into German; in the second E. Hoppe,<sup>2</sup> John Burnet,<sup>3</sup> and A. E. Taylor.<sup>4</sup> Taylor's treatment is the most complete, and it is this that I wish to discuss.

The passage of the *Epinomis*, 900 C-D, which deals with mathematics, reads as follows: διὸ μαθημάτων δέον ἂν εἶη· τὸ δὲ μέγιστόν τε καὶ πρῶτον ἀριθμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ σώματα ἐχόντων, ἀλλὰ ὅλης τῆς τοῦ περιττοῦ τε καὶ ἀρτίου γενέσεώς τε καὶ δυνάμεως, ὅσην παρέχεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν. ταῦτα δὲ μαθόντι τοῖτοισι ἐφεξῆς ἐστὶν ὃ καλοῦσι μὲν σφόδρα γελοῖον ὄνομα γεωμετρίαν, τῶν οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ὁμοίων ἀλλήλοις φύσει ἀριθμῶν ὁμοίωσις πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπιπέδων μοῖραν γεγονυῖά ἐστι διαφανής . . . μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τοὺς τρις ἠῶν ἐξήμενους καὶ τῇ στερεᾷ φύσει ὁμοίους, τοὺς δὲ ἀνομοίους αὐτῶν γεγονότας ἑτέρα τέχνη

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D'Ooge-Robbins-Karpinski, *Nicomachus of Gerasa, Introduction to Arithmetic*, pp. 111-115; T. L. Heath, *A Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> In *Mathematik und Astronomie im klassischen Altertum*, p. 143. It should be stated that Hoppe finds incommensurable numbers in Theaetetus 148 as well as in the *Epinomis*.

<sup>3</sup> In *Thales to Plato*, pp. 322-323. Burnet's position seems to resemble Hoppe's, but his discussion lacks in clarity.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor's fullest discussion is found in an article, *Forms and Numbers: A Study in Platonic Metaphysics*, published in *Mind*, 1926, pp. 419-440, and 1927, pp. 12-33; and in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, pp. 367-369.

ὁμοιοί, ταύτη ἣν δὴ στερεομετρίαν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ προστυχεῖς αὐτῇ γεγονότες. This Taylor translates,<sup>5</sup> beginning with ταῦτα δὲ μαθόντι: "When a man has learned all this, next in order comes what is called ludicrously enough geometry (land-surveying) but it really is manifestly an assimilation of numbers which are not naturally similar to one another by having regard to area-numbers. (ἐπιπέδων is clearly, I think, here an adjective and means ἐπιπέδων ἀριθμῶν, numbers which are the product of two factors—the reference being to square numbers.)—And after this science we must study numbers of the third increase, which are like solids; and here again those which are dissimilar are assimilated by a second science—that which those who have hit upon it named stereometry." The text of the last sentence is, as Taylor says, uncertain, but this uncertainty, I believe, has little effect upon the meaning. I am willing to accept Taylor's translation, except in the case of ἐπιπέδων, which I think means geometrical surfaces, not area-numbers.<sup>6</sup> But what is of importance is his explanation: "The meaning is this: Two such 'numbers' as  $\sqrt{2}$  and  $\sqrt{3}$  are not 'naturally similar', they have no 'common measure', so that you can't even say from an examination of them as they stand whether they are equal, and if they are not, which is the greater. But multiply each by itself; then  $\sqrt{2} \times \sqrt{2} = 2$  and  $\sqrt{3} \times \sqrt{3} = 3$ , and 2 and 3 have a 'common measure' and can be compared. So you lay it down that if  $a > b$  then  $\sqrt{a} > \sqrt{b}$  and thus effect a comparison between two things which are not φύσει similar. . . . it is thus quite clear that the *Epinomis* regards both quadratic and cubic surds as numbers."<sup>7</sup>

What Taylor conceives to be the nature of the task which the *Epinomis* sets the mathematician, we see more clearly from his earlier article in *Mind*.<sup>8</sup> I quote or paraphrase:

<sup>5</sup> In *Commentary on the Timaeus*, p. 368.

<sup>6</sup> This was Taylor's opinion earlier; cf. *Mind*, 1926, p. 424.

<sup>7</sup> *Commentary on the Timaeus*, p. 368.

<sup>8</sup> Taylor's main object here is to use Plato's conjectured theory of incommensurable numbers to solve the difficulties in the doctrine of ideal numbers, attributed to Plato by Aristotle. I shall refrain here from any discussion of this latter subject. But obviously if Taylor's interpretation of the *Epinomis* is unsound, his explanation of the Aristotelian account of ideal numbers, resting as it does upon the interpretation of the *Epinomis*, falls to the ground.

"The astronomer will need in his calculations to manipulate surds," "to determine the value of irrational quadratic and cubic roots . . . with as close an approximation as his problems demand." "The theory of arithmetic will only be complete when we have learned how to give a numerical expression for  $\sqrt{2}$  and  $\sqrt[3]{2}$ —and thus, by the way, solved the 'Delian problem'—and have then proceeded to generalise a method for the evaluation of the rest of the quadratic and cubic 'irrationals'."

"There was already in existence in the latter part of the fifth century a rule for making approximations to the value of  $\sqrt{2}$ , the rule to which Plato apparently alludes in *Rep.* 546 C, where he makes Socrates speak of 7 as the 'rational diameter of 5'," the rule which is given in *Theon of Smyrna*, Hiller, pp. 43 f., for finding successive pairs of side and diagonal numbers. The problem is to evaluate all quadratic surds by the same method which has proved successful in the case of  $\sqrt{2}$ , and cubic surds, too, by some analogous method, yet to be discovered.

Let us turn to the text of the *Epinomis*: τῶν οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ὁμοίων ἀλλήλοις φύσει ἀριθμῶν ὁμοίωσις πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπιπέδων μοῖραν. The decisive question is the meaning of ὁμοίων. Taylor, in agreement with certain older interpreters, takes the word in the sense of "commensurable". While we cannot demand that he show us a parallel, since he admits there is no other occurrence of the idea in antiquity, it would be well to see whether ὁμοιος is elsewhere used of number in any sense which would be intelligible here. Now we find that in various authors, *e. g.*, Euclid<sup>9</sup> and Theon of Smyrna,<sup>10</sup> the term is applied to groups of numbers which are the products of proportional factors, *i. e.*, perfect squares, perfect cubes, numbers such as 6 and 24, since  $6 = 2 \times 3$ ,  $24 = 4 \times 6$ , 24 and 192, since  $24 = 2 \times 3 \times 4$ ,  $192 = 4 \times 6 \times 8$ . If we take ὁμοιος in this sense in the *Epinomis*, we get the following result. A perfect square, *e. g.* 4, and 7 are not naturally similar, but we can make them similar by representing both as similar areas, *i. e.* by constructing a square the area of which is equal to 4, another square the area of which is equal to 7. The latter construction involves the

<sup>9</sup> *Elementa* VII, def. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Hiller, p. 38.

finding of the geometrical mean between a line of 1 unit of length and another line of 7 units of length, an operation perfectly familiar at that time.<sup>11</sup> It would be possible, also, to make 7 similar to 6, the latter represented as the area of a parallelogram with sides of 2 and 3 units of length.<sup>12</sup> The meaning of the passage is the same in both cases.<sup>13</sup>

While it is true that nowhere else in the Platonic corpus are similar numbers mentioned, we have no reason to believe that the concept was not existent even before Plato. Besides, it is logically involved in *Timaeus* 31-32, for the statement that between two surface-numbers one geometrical mean may be introduced, whereas between two solid numbers two means are necessary, is true, as Proclus points out, only if we take similar numbers.<sup>14</sup>

Let us turn now to the last sentence: μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τοὺς τρὶς ἡυξημένους καὶ τῇ στερεᾷ φύσει ὁμοίους· τοὺς δ' ἀνομοίους αὐτῶν γεγονότας ἑτέρα τέχνη ὁμοιοῖ, ταύτῃ ἣν δὴ στερεομετρίαν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ προστυχεῖς αὐτῇ γεγονότες. The text is uncertain, and perhaps there would be difficulties even if we were sure what the author wrote. Yet the general sense, I think, is fairly clear. Obviously numbers of the third increase which are similar to solids are the products of three factors. But what is the meaning of τοὺς ἀνομοίους? Numbers which are unlike solids, such as prime and surface-numbers, or numbers which are unlike particular solid numbers, or numbers, treated as solid, which are unlike each other? While the phrasing seems at first to favor the first interpretation, this is plainly impossible, for there is no difficulty in making any number similar to a solid, since  $5 = 1 \times 1 \times 5$ ; so in the

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Theaetetus 147-8, where it is presupposed; Aristotle, *De anima* 413 a 17; *Met.* 996 b 2.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Euclid, *Elementa* VI, 25.

<sup>13</sup> The operation is, of course, much simpler if we make a number similar to a perfect square; and the passage of the Theaetetus, cited above, makes it probable that this is what Plato had in mind. It is perhaps worth while to quote Iamblichus in *Nicomachi arithmetica*, Pistelli, p. 32, ll. 10-12: οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ ταυτοὺς τε καὶ ὁμοίους αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς τετραγώνους ἀριθμούς) ἐκάλουν.

<sup>14</sup> Taylor thinks that Plato has in mind in this passage square and cubic numbers; he fails to mention the possibility of other similar numbers, for which cf. Proclus in *Timaeum* II, 30.

Theaetetus 5 is treated as an oblong number (*ἑτερομήκης*) and it is implied that it can be treated as a solid number, too. The second and third interpretations amount to one and the same thing, making a number similar, in the sense we have defined, to a given solid number. The simplest thing is to assume that the number is to be made similar to a cubic number, just as in the sentence above it was simplest to assume that a number, not naturally square, was to be made similar to a square number. The geometrical construction involved is that of a cube the volume of which is 5, say, cubic units.

With this interpretation, which rests upon the only meaning that *ὅμοιος* is ever found to have when applied to number, the passage of the *Epinomis* says substantially the same thing that is said in the *Theaetetus*. Nothing is said in either work of incommensurable numbers. The fact that the area of a square was 5 square units, and could represent the number 5 does not seem to have suggested to the Greek mind the possibility of supposing that the incommensurable side of this square represented a number. That the ratio of an incommensurable magnitude and a commensurable could be approximated indefinitely by a succession of ratios of integers, they knew. But they did not take the further step of admitting incommensurables as numbers.

If Taylor's interpretation is right, the task of the geometer according to the author of the *Epinomis* was the approximation of quadratic and cubic surds by successions of ratios, analogous to the ratios of side and diagonal numbers for  $\sqrt{2}$ . If that was his program for mathematical research, it was destined to a lamentable failure. There is no sure proof that this method was ever used to approximate any other quadratic surd,<sup>15</sup> and, as Taylor says, it is impossible in the case of cubic surds.<sup>16</sup>

That there is a reference to the Delian problem, the dupli-

<sup>15</sup> The approximations to  $\sqrt{3}$  in Archimedes are best explained by the use of certain formulae; cf. Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, pp. 309-310.

<sup>16</sup> Successive application of Hero's probable formula for the extraction of cube roots would give a series of approximations, but this would not, of course, be analogous to side and diagonal numbers; for this formula cf. Heath, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

cation of the cube, in the last sentence of our passage, I think most likely. But the solution desired is geometrical, not arithmetical. Three mathematicians associated with Plato—Archytas, Eudoxus, and Menaechmus—gave geometrical solutions;<sup>17</sup> we hear nothing in this connection of the extraction of the cube root of 2.

ROGER MILLER JONES.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Heath, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 ff.



## FOUR OLD PERSIAN ETYMOLOGIES.

Thanks to the labours of Father Scheil and of Professors Benveniste and Kent,<sup>1</sup> the text and the interpretation of the newly discovered Achaemenian inscriptions at Susa may be regarded as practically settled. The form *dačaram* (Dar. Sus. 4<sup>3</sup>) beside *tačaram* (Dar. Pers. a<sup>6</sup>) = Elamitic *tazzaram* (New Persian *tačar* 'winter house, storehouse', Arabic *ṭazar* 'summer house', Armenian *tačar* 'temple, palace'<sup>2</sup>) is quite obscure; in view of our total ignorance of the etymology of the word, it may possibly have been borrowed in Old Persian, thus accounting for the alternation *t/d*.<sup>3</sup> The form *frašta* (Dar. Sus. a<sup>5</sup>; 7<sup>6</sup>; 11<sup>5</sup>)<sup>4</sup> rather than *\*frašata*, evidently connected with Old Persian *frašam* (Charter 56), Avesta *fraša-* 'turned toward, well-fitted, excellent', seems to be of the type of Avesta *sarəta-*: Sanskrit *śī-śīr-a-* 'cold'.<sup>5</sup>

The tree-name *θaramiš* (Charter 30)<sup>6</sup> = Babylonian *erīnu* (21) 'cedar' may evidently be referred to an Indo-European base *\*k<sup>e</sup>/o<sup>re</sup>/om-i-*, of which the normal-zero grade would be *\*k<sup>e</sup>/orm-i-*, so that a better reading of the Old Persian word would seem to be *θarmiš*. Apparently it is cognate with Lithuanian *šermùkšlė*, *šermùkšnė*, *šermùkšnis* 'mountain ash' < *\*šermùk-uš-*<sup>7</sup>, Lettish *šërmauksis* beside *cërmaùkša*<sup>8</sup>, Slovene

<sup>1</sup> V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse*, Paris, 1929; E. Benveniste, 'Nouvelles inscriptions achéménides', in *BSLP* xxx (1930), 58-67; R. Kent, 'The Recently Published Old Persian Inscriptions', in *JAOS* li (1931), 189-240 (also issued as a Special Publication of the Linguistic Society of America).

<sup>2</sup> H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 251, Strasbourg, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> In Elamitic script, *t* stands for both *t* and *d*, e. g. Elamitic *tikrakauta* = Old Persian *tigraṣauda-* 'with pointed hat'.

<sup>4</sup> Benveniste, p. 64; Kent, p. 216.

<sup>5</sup> K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, II, i, 411-413, Strasbourg, 1906.

<sup>6</sup> Scheil, p. 27; Kent, p. 205.

<sup>7</sup> R. Trautmann, *Baltisch-slavisches Wörterbuch*, p. 128, Göttingen, 1923.

<sup>8</sup> K. Mühlenbach (ed. J. Endzelin), *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, i, 410; iii, 829-830, Riga, 1923 sqq.

*srêmsa*, *srêmsa* beside *črêmsa*, etc.<sup>9</sup> The group in general<sup>10</sup> seems originally to have meant 'red', whether, as in the case of the mountain ash, because of red berries, or, as in the case of the cedar, because of the colour of its wood; and it appears to be cognate with the group of Lithuanian *šarmuō*, *šermuō* 'ermine', Old High German *harro* 'weasel', so named because of the redness of its summer coat.<sup>11</sup> The group as a whole shows Indo-European *q* beside *k*, unless, indeed, one may assume two groups, *\*k<sup>e</sup>/o<sup>e</sup>/om-* and *\*q<sup>e</sup>/o<sup>e</sup>/om-*, which, originally distinct, subsequently became confused.

The word *yakā* (Charter 34)<sup>12</sup> is rendered in the Babylonian version (24) by *miš]makan*, which is elsewhere defined as *išši dāram* 'durable wood'.<sup>13</sup> The Indo-European base would be *\*i<sup>e</sup>/o<sup>e</sup>q-*, of which *yak-* is the normal grade. The zero grade would be *\*iq-*, which seems to occur in Greek *ἱκπιον* 'mast' (usually in the plural *ἱκπια* 'half-deck, platform, stage, scaffolding, theatre-benches'), so that the meaning of the Old Persian word would be 'timber' rather than 'oak', as proposed by Scheil and Kent.<sup>14</sup>

The obscure *sikaba*[+]*uda* (Charter 37-38) = Babylonian *širgarû* (26)<sup>15</sup> 'serpentine' (?) may be referred to a base *\*keueiq-*, of which the double-zero grade would be *\*kuiq-*. This base *\*keueiq-* itself appears to be an extension of *\*keue(i)-* 'shine, be bright', with a normal-zero grade *\*keuq-*. Old Persian *sika-* would then be cognate with Sanskrit *śuc-* 'gleam,

<sup>9</sup> E. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, i, 145, Heidelberg, 1908 sqq.; T. Torbiörnsson, *Gemeinslavische Liquidametathese*, ii, 12-14, Upsala, 1901-03; cf. also O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, ii, 421-422, Berlin, 1917-29. For various other suggested cognates (at best highly problematical), see W. Stokes, *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*, p. 91, Göttingen, 1894; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, p. 488, Paris, 1916.

<sup>10</sup> Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, i, 426-427, Berlin, 1926 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> Walde-Pokorny, i, 463 (otherwise Trautmann, p. 300).

<sup>12</sup> Scheil, p. 28; Benveniste, p. 61; Kent, p. 206.

<sup>13</sup> S. Langdon, in *JRAS* 1929, p. 379.

<sup>14</sup> Connexion of *ἱκπιον* with Old Prussian *yceroy*, Old Lithuanian *ikras*, Russian *ikrá*, etc. 'calf of the leg' (references in Walde-Pokorny, i, 206) seems much less probable.

<sup>15</sup> Scheil, p. 29; Kent, p. 207.

glow, burn', *śukrá-* 'bright, resplendent', Avesta *saočant-* 'burning', *suxra-* 'red' (\**kuq-*, \**keuq-*); Avesta *savahī* 'eastern area', Sanskrit *śvaḥ* 'to-morrow' (\**keu-*, \**ky-*), *śubhrá-* 'radiant, beautiful', (\**ku-bh-*), *śvetá-* 'white' (\**kuei-t-*), etc.<sup>16</sup> In *-ba-* one may see the formative *-bho-*, used especially to designate colours or animals;<sup>17</sup> and the final component may conjecturally be restored as [*xa*]uda- 'hat, helmet', so that *sikabaxauda-* would mean 'bright-hooded creature', and would designate some sort of serpent.

The word *marda-* occurs in Bh. v, 11 in the line *pasāva ga[ubar]uva [uvaḥiyā] aḥ utā daiy marda<sup>h</sup> utā [tyamšām] maθ-[ištam] agarbāya*, etc. 'then Gaubaruva smote the Elamites, and to him there was a . . . , and he seized their leader', etc. It seems a little surprising that no one has proposed a connexion between Old Persian *marda-* and the group of Armenian *mart* 'war, battle, combat', Sanskrit *mard-*, Avesta *marəd-* 'destroy', Greek ἀμείρω 'deprive', etc.,<sup>18</sup> so that the meaning of *marda-* would be something like 'crushing victory'.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

<sup>16</sup> Walde-Pokorny, i, 368, 378, 469-470.

<sup>17</sup> Brugmann, II, i. 386-390.

<sup>18</sup> Walde-Pokorny, ii, 278-279.

## TACITUS AND THE *SPECULUM PRINCIPIS*.

In the year 25 A. D. the province of Hither Spain asked permission to erect a temple to Tiberius and his mother. The emperor, averse to divine honors, voiced his refusal and stated his general policy in what Tacitus designates as "a speech of the following character (*huiusce modi orationem*)."<sup>1</sup> The sentiments beyond doubt were those of Tiberius, but the expression *huiusce modi* indicates that the content is an approximation, the sort of speech he delivered, while the actual words and figures of speech are the creations of the historian.<sup>1</sup>

Tiberius, after asserting that he is a mere mortal, is represented as addressing the senators in these terms: "Posterity will bestow upon my memory enough and more than enough if they believe me worthy of my ancestors, careful of your interests, steadfast in dangers, and fearless of giving offense in behalf of the public welfare. *These [virtues] will be my temples in your minds, these the most beautiful likenesses and ones which will endure*; for those which are constructed of stone are despised as tombs only, if the judgment of posterity turns to hatred."<sup>2</sup>

Tacitus' contemporary, Plutarch, had a definite opinion concerning superhuman honors for rulers,<sup>3</sup> and his ideas which are pertinent to the present discussion may be adumbrated as follows: Excessive honors are often given through constraint and arouse hatred;<sup>4</sup> divine names and temples, when given to mortals, quickly perish,<sup>5</sup> and such adulation should be spurned, but praise for incorruptibility, wisdom, and prudence sought.<sup>6</sup> These qualities which Plutarch extols go hand in hand with virtue, and a just ruler has no need of a sculptor, for his virtue makes him into the closest likeness to God.<sup>7</sup> It is virtue alone

<sup>1</sup> See L. R. Taylor, "Tiberius' Refusals of Divine Honors", *T.A.P.A.* lx (1929), p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 38, 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> See Scott, "Plutarch and the Ruler Cult", *T.A.P.A.* lx (1929), pp. 117-135.

<sup>4</sup> *Demetrius* 30, 4-5 and *Mor.* 820 F.

<sup>5</sup> *Mor.* 360 A-D.

<sup>6</sup> *Mor.* 543 D.

<sup>7</sup> "Discourse to an Unlearned Prince", *Mor.* 780 E.

which can deify, not the decree of a city (οὐ νόμῳ πόλεως),<sup>8</sup> and of that divinity to which rulers aspire Plutarch says, "It is thought to excel in three points, in incorruptibility, in might, and in virtue, while of the three even the most holy and godlike is virtue."<sup>9</sup>

With the words of Tacitus and Plutarch is to be confronted a passage found in Dio Cassius under the year 29 B. C., where he has inserted in his narrative two speeches, one by Agrippa advising Octavian to reject the monarchy and the other by Maecenas urging him to accept it. Both speeches are, of course, concoctions of the historian, or possibly in part of one of his sources.

Maecenas' discourse, a veritable *speculum principis*, touches upon the question of divine honors and bids Octavian permit no unusual or prodigal honor from the senate or any person. "For", continues Dio, "honor from you brings glory to others, but upon yourself nothing greater may be bestowed than what you already possess, while great *suspicion of insincerity* would be attached to the bestowal."

After some expatiation upon this "suspicion" Dio advises Octavian to eschew gold and silver statues which "invite destruction and are of *short duration*." Rather should he "fashion other statues in the very hearts (ψυχαῖς) of men by benefactions, statues which do not tarnish and which last forever." Nor should Octavian ever allow a temple to be erected to himself, "for from temples no glory is gained; but virtue (ἀρετή) makes demigods of many, while no one was ever elected a god *by show of hands*."<sup>10</sup> Hence, if Octavian is good and rules well, "all the earth will be his precincts, all cities his temples, and all men his statues, for in their thoughts (γνώμας) he will be enshrined with glory." For bad rulers, on the other hand, such divine honors are merely memorials of their injustice."<sup>11</sup>

From what has been shown above it seems that Tacitus' language and figures of speech are part of a tradition evidently

<sup>8</sup> *Romulus*, 28, 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Aristides*, 6, 2; cf. *Mor.* 543 D.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Dio, lxxiv, 14, 2a: It is virtue which preserves the memory of rulers.

<sup>11</sup> lli, 35.

common to writers of advice to princes. It is to be noted that Plutarch wrote an essay entitled "A Discourse to an Unlearned Prince" (cited above), that he delivers considerable advice about divine honors there and elsewhere, and that his works themselves were in later centuries the *pièce de résistance* in the education of rulers, while in the speeches of Agrippa and Maecenas Dio Cassius has written two such "discourses" to fit into his history.

Tacitus, like both Plutarch and Dio, makes virtue the real basis for deification, and, like Dio, he indicates that apotheosis may take place only in the hearts of a prince's subjects. By implication he likewise agrees with the other two writers that popular vote (Dio's *χειροτονητός* and Plutarch's *νόμῳ πόλεως*) cannot make a ruler into a god. That there are other examples of this traditional advice to rulers, both earlier and later, is more than likely, but the sameness of ideas and even of figures of speech in Tacitus, Plutarch and Dio should be sufficient to establish the discourse cited from Tacitus as derived from a commonplace of the *speculum principis*.

KENNETH SCOTT.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.



## REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, LXXVIII (1929), Heft 1-2.

Pp. 1-25. Ernst Maass, Heilige Steine. Examination of passages, the greater part of them from Pausanias and Hesychius, where the worship of such stones is mentioned, and attempted explanations of the origins and meanings of the names applied to them.

Pp. 26-34. Leo Weber, Nachträgliches zu Androgeos. I. Discussion of the personality, the work attributed to him, the *floruit*, and the correct form of the name of the Melesagoras from whom Hesychius (*s. v.* ἐπ' Εὐρυγύρῃ ἀγών) derived his information about Androgeos. II. A consideration of certain features of the Theseus-Androgeos legend, as found in Plutarch's *Theseus*, in which there seem to inhere some traces of Attic tradition. III. Discussions of different versions of the story of the tribute of the seven youths and maidens sent to Crete, and of Minos' punitive expedition to Attica. IV. Discussion of the tradition as to the color of the sails of Theseus' vessel.

Pp. 35-53. Dietrich Müllder, Götteranrufungen in Ilias und Odyssee. An examination of the formulas used in addressing deities, particularly those that are repetitive.

Pp. 54-57. C. Fries, Homerische Beiträge (Zu  $\Xi$  225 sqq.). Hera's flight is not direct, but, for the most part, over the land. The poet, perhaps unconsciously, assigns to the goddess his own fear of the sea. The early mariner was limited to a coasting voyage, and the poet sees the flight of Hera through the eyes of such a mariner. The same realism influences the passage dealing with the flight of Hermes in *Od.* 5, 43 ff.

Pp. 58-67. Konrat Ziegler, Der Ursprung der Exkurse im Thukydides. The so-called digressions in Thucydides, viz. the Archaeologia, the Pentecontaetia, the story of Cylon, etc. are probably topics investigated by Thucydides before he began to write his history of the war, rather than 'parerga' of the work itself. Thucydides was quite probably interested in historical investigation at an early age. Whether these digressions would have survived a final revision by the author remains an unanswered question.

Pp. 68-80. A. Röhlecke, Polyeukt wider Euxenipp. Discussion of the grounds of Polyeuctus' hatred of Euxenippus and of certain difficulties of interpretation in Hypereides' oration ὑπὲρ Εὐξενίππου εἰσαγγελίας ἀπολογία πρὸς Πολύεγκτον.

Pp. 81-104. S. Luria, Entstellungen des Klassikertextes bei

Stobaios. An analysis of the sources of corruption in the text of Stobaeus' quotations of the classical authors together with a discussion of a considerable number of such passages.

Pp. 105-112. MISZELLEN.

Pp. 105-111. P. Groebe, Zur Erklärung Ciceronischer Briefe. 1. *ad Att.* XIII 40, 1. Punctuate: *Itane? Nuntiat Brutus illum ad bonos viros?* Groebe prefers Tunstall's *Hic autem—Ut stultum est!* to the conjectures of Schmidt, Tyrrell, and Gurlitt. The words '*in Parthenone*' must refer to the original Parthenon in Athens. It is possible that amphorae with representations on them of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were carried in procession, and, after the festival, deposited in the Parthenon. Cicero may have seen one of these and, with thought of tyrannicide in his mind, alludes to the pair with the words '*Ahalem et Brutum.*' Such an allusion is quite in the Ciceronian manner. 2. *ad Q. fr.* II 13 (15a), 1. The text stands in no need of emendation. Cicero received two letters from his brother; the first from Placentia on June 2nd; the second from Blandeno, together with one from Caesar, on June 3rd. Blandeno is probably the modern Biandronno on Lago di Varese.

Pp. 112. W. Morel, Tacitus Agricola 28. For *uno remigante* read *uno repugnante* (causal).

Pp. 113-123. Otto Immisch, Wirklichkeit und Literaturform. Discussion of certain fictions of the dialogue form, and, in particular, of devices for disguising the mnemonic improbability of long narrated dialogues. Certain of these devices seem almost to develop into literary *motifs*. Many examples are cited, but special consideration is given to Cicero's *Topica* and Photius' *Bibliotheca*.

Pp. 124-143. Felix Bölte, Zu lakonischen Festen. 1. Gymnopaïdien. 2. Parparonia. 3. Hyakinthien. 4. Karneien. An attempt to assemble from literary and inscriptional evidence new information about these festivals with regard to the order of events, the number of days in the festival, the month in which the festival was held, who the participants in the various contests were, etc.

Pp. 144-147. C. Fries, Homerische Beiträge. It is true that in ancient Greece we find no absolute monarch of the oriental type. However, at an earlier period the situation must have been different, and the traces of this earlier state of affairs are to be seen between the lines in the autocratic attitude of Agamemnon toward Achilles in the first book of the *Iliad*.

Pp. 148-165. Emanuel Loew, Das Lehrgedicht des Parmenides. Outline of the poem and an analysis of its reasoning.

Pp. 166-170. U. Hofer, Zu Sophokles. 1. Zur Elektra (444-446). Two insults to the dead body of Agamemnon are spoken of (ἐμασχαλίσθη and κάρη κηλίδας ἐξέμαξεν). The first had been already mentioned by Aeschylus (*Cho.* 427). It is possible that Sophocles had in mind the customs attributed to the Scythians by Herodotus (4, 62 τοὺς δεξιὸν ὤμους πάντας ἀποτάμνοντες σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ . . . ; 4, 64 the use of the scalp of an enemy as χειρόμακτρον). There is no necessity in the second case that the word ἐξέμαξεν have any reference to an act of religious atonement. 2. Zum Phineus. In Stephanus of Byzantium (*s. v.* Σήσαμον) we find Σήσαμον: πόλις Παφλαγονίας ἐν ᾗ ᾤκησεν ὁ πρῶτος Φινεύς. The ὁ πρῶτος Φινεύς (in spite of Meineke's proposed emendations) refers to the 'erste Phineus' of Sophocles, and in Sesamon the scene of the play was probably laid.

Pp. 171-187. Ernst Howald, Eustathios und der Venetus A. Howald subscribes to the view of L. Cohn (Pauly-Wissowa *s. v.* Eustathios) that the most important source of Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad* was a single MS. exceedingly rich in scholia. Howald examines various scholia in comparison with Eustathius in order to afford additional support to this theory as against Max Neumann (Jahns Jahrbücher Suppt. XX S. 180 f.). According to Howald, Venetus A and its predecessor, the MS. of Eustathius, were 'Mischcodices' composed of the two classes BT and D together with the scholia of the 'Quartet'.

Pp. 188-198. Walther Schwahn, Zu IG. II 160 (Philipps Landfrieden). IG. II 160 (= Dittenberger, Sylloge I<sup>3</sup> 260a) contains the oath given by the Greeks to Philip's covenant of peace in 338/7. Part of the inscription is missing, and it is evident that in addition to the first column there was a second, of which there remain only a few letters from the first part of a few of the missing lines. Schwahn attempts to restore the missing part of the inscription. His restored text is given in full.

Pp. 199-212. Wilhelm Ensslin, Dalmatius Censor, der Halbbruder Konstantins I. The Dalmatius who was consul in 333 was not Dalmatius, the nephew of Constantine, and son of Dalmatius the Censor [as *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Bonn) 531, 19 ff.], but the Censor himself, the half brother of Constantine. It is not probable that either Dalmatius was a *magister militum* as Ernst Stein (*Geschichte des Spättrömischen Reichs* I 187 A. 1) believes.

Pp. 213-224. MISZELLEN.

Pp. 213-215. Johannes Th. Kakridis, Zu den Aëdon- und Inosagen. A correction of C. Robert's interpretation (*Arch. Hermeneutik* pp. 264 f.; *Gr. Heldensage* I 125) of a red-figured drinking vessel [*Münchener Vasensamml.* Nr. 2638; *J. H. S.* 8

(1887), 400] used by him in reconstructing the myth of Aëdon and Itylus. In the *Ino* of Euripides, the plot of which is given by Hyginus, Robert (Arch. Hermeneutik pp. 265 f.; Gr. Heldensage I 49 Anm. 4) thinks the change of garments, the device whereby the wife of Athamas is led to slay her own children instead of those of Ino, was an innovation of Euripides. Kakridis thinks it was taken over by the poet from a store of similar plots in the 'Märchen', and cites a modern Greek story where the device is employed.

Pp. 215-218. Eduard Schwyzer, Zur griechischen Epigraphik und Dialektologie. 1. Nochmals zur ersten Tafel von Herakleia. Additional evidence for Schwyzer's conjecture [*Rhein. Mus.* 77 (1928), 236] καθὼς κατ τὸς λοιπὸς γέγραπται for καθὼς καὶ τὸς λοιπὸς . . . in line 169 of this inscription (IG. XIV 645). 2. Lakon. ΗΑΓΕΗΙΑΑΣ. Émile Bourguet [*Le dialecte Laconien = Collection linguistique XXIII* 9 (Paris 1927)] says that the form Αγηήλας is not found, but only the form with intervocalic σ, Αγησίλαος. Schwyzer points to ΗΑΓΕΗΙΑΑΣ found on a fragment of a marble slab published by E. Fiechter [*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäolog. Instituts* 33 (1918), 222 f. (Nr. 10, Abb. 85)].

Pp. 218-219. Ernst Maass, Stimichon. In *Ecl.* 5, 55 Vergil wrote either *Misicon* (*Misichon*) or *Simicon* (*Simichon*) and not *Stimichon*.

Pp. 219-220. A. Sizoo, Mures molas lingunt. Sizoo is dissatisfied with the explanation by F. Dornseiff [*Rhein. Mus.* 77 (1928), 221-224] of the words "*mures molas lingunt*" (Seneca *Apocolocyntosis*, chap. 8). The expression is not proverbial. In ancient times, when each kitchen had its mill, the mice undoubtedly made free with the particles of meal left on the millstones. So the expression is as trite as if one were to say, "At Rome horses have four feet," and is no ground for the appointment of Claudius *curva corrigere*.

Pp. 220-221. Hugo Koch, Zu Ps.-Tertullian *De execrandis gentium diis*. Ernst Bickel [*Rhein. Mus.* 76 (1927), 412] and Harnack (*Chronologie d. altchr. Litt.*, 2, 288 Anm.) employ the words in Sec. 7: *caeteras eius (sc. Iovis) corruptelas . . . nolo scribere, ne rursus foeditas iam sepulta renovetur* to prove that the work was composed after the time of Constantine. Koch denies that there is any reference here to political change.

Pp. 221-223. Erik Peterson, Die Bedeutung der ὠκεανέ—Akklamation. Peterson quotes a passage from Ioannes Chrysostomus (*Περὶ κενοδοξίας καὶ ὅπως δεῖ τοὺς γονέας ἀνατρέφειν τὰ τέκνα*) to illustrate the use of the 'ὠκεανέ—Akklamation' (Pap. Oxy. 41; 1305; 1413; Pap. Hermop. 7 I. 8). In this passage, for his

exceptional φιλοτιμία, a public benefactor is compared by the people to the Nile and even to the ocean. Peterson thinks that this is undoubtedly a literary example of a usage found elsewhere only in the papyri.

Pp. 223-224. Fridericus Marx, *Critica hermeneutica*. I. To supplement his treatment (Plaut. *Rud.* pp. 206 ff.) on the superstition with regard to the number seven in the Bacchic rites of Attica, Marx calls attention to the fact that on the famous Dionysus cylix by Execias (Furt. and Reich. I, Pl. 42) there appear seven dolphins, seven bunches of grapes, and that there are seven leaves on each of the two branches at the left. The two branches at the right are represented as not fully developed. II. In Soph. *Ichneut.* 302 f. (Pears.) for υ - υ - υ λο. . . ορεινη σύγγονος τῷ (ν ὁ) στράκ[ρε]ων read <φωνεῖ μὲν αἰὼ>λο<ν φ>ορείνη, σύγγονος τῶν ὀστράκων.

ROBERT PARVIN STRICKLER.

SOUTHWESTERN, MEMPHIS.

ROMANIA, Vol. LV (1929), janvier-octobre.

Pp. 1-16. E. Hoepffner. Chrétien de Troyes et Thomas d'Angleterre. The *Roman de Tristan* had a more profound and more lasting influence on Chrétien de Troyes than any other contemporary work. But it has long been a debatable question whether the romance in the version given us by Thomas was the source or a derivative of the legend as found in the works of Chrétien. After a careful examination of this question the author of the present article decides in favor of the latter hypothesis.

Pp. 17-44. Louis Brandin. Nouvelles recherches sur Fouke Fitz Warin. This very complex Anglo-French prose work gives rise to many literary questions: it is evidently a reworking of an earlier poem on the subject; indeed, there are both a French and an English poem to be taken into consideration in this connection. The result of this investigation is that the Anglo-French source was probably written in Shropshire about the middle of the thirteenth century.

Pp. 45-112. Lucien-Paul Thomas. Les strophes et la composition du Sponsus (textes latin et roman). After a very lengthy investigation the conclusion is here reached that the Sponsus is to be considered as the corner-stone for the study of the French drama in its origins in that it is based on the well-tried technique of its Latin antecedent.

Pp. 113-124. *Mélanges*. Pp. 125-140. *Comptes rendus*. Pp. 141-152. *Périodiques*. Pp. 153-160. *Chronique*.

Pp. 161-173. Ch. Samaran. Fragment d'une traduction en



prose française du Psautier composée en Angleterre au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. In addition to the well-known texts of Oxford and Cambridge, there appear to have been independent French versions. A short fragment of such a version has been preserved in the Archives départementales de l'Orne; it is here published in a critical edition with the corresponding passages of the versions mentioned above in parallel columns.

Pp. 174-194. Eugène Anitchkof. *Le Saint Graal et les rites eucharistiques*. The attitude of the early Christians, of the Provençal troubadours and of Chrétien de Troyes towards the Grail legend are here analyzed at some length, and a comparison is made with the views of other less well-known authors. The Grail legend is that of the redemption mystically repeated and symbolized by the eucharist.

Pp. 195-213. Albert Pauphilet. *Eneas et Énée*. As a means of comparison of the poetic methods of the Medieval writer with those of Virgil the author here takes the Carthage episode as the basis for his investigation. Just as the older poet had Romanized his account of Carthage, so the later author Medievalized his model as a matter of course.

Pp. 214-250. V. Chichmaref. *Notes sur quelques œuvres attribuées au Roi René*. In addition to various works whose attribution to this mediocre author of the fifteenth century is practically certain, there exists quite a number of others the authorship of which is highly problematical. A detailed investigation of many of these is here made, and more definite conclusions are reached in various instances than had hitherto been possible to the many scholars who have studied his life and works during the past century.

Pp. 251-265. *Mélanges*. Pp. 266-286. *Comptes rendus*. Pp. 287-308. *Périodiques*. Pp. 309-320. *Chronique*.

Pp. 321-331. J. Anglade. *Notes sur le manuscrit Palat. 586 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Florence*. This Provençal manuscript of the fourteenth century contains a translation of the French *Dits des Philosophes*, followed by a Provençal herbal in which the miniatures are especially fine.

Pp. 332-381. A. T. Baker. *La vie de Saint Edmond, archevêque de Cantorbéry*. The only manuscript known to contain this famous biography belongs to the Duke of Portland. It is evidently translated and adapted from the Latin life preserved in a Cottonian manuscript. A critical edition of the text is here given with considerable detail of foot-note.

Pp. 382-400. Ivor Arnold. *Notice sur un manuscrit de la traduction des Annales du Hainaut de Jacques de Guise par Jean Wauquelin (Brit. Mus. Lansdowne 214)*. This manuscript



once belonged to the celebrated booklover Charles de Croy, and its history is readily traced down to the British Museum. The work first to be transcribed is the subject of the present article, and it affords a very good opportunity to observe the methods followed by the official writers at the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century.

Pp. 401-410. Ch. Samaran. Lectures sous les rayons ultraviolets. Chanson de Roland (manuscrit d'Oxford). This new method of examining manuscripts has enabled the writer of this article to add a little to the results previously obtained by the painstaking labors of Professors Stengel and Bédier.

Pp. 411-468. Émile Roy. Les poèmes français relatifs à la Première croisade. Le poème de 1356 et ses sources. This posthumous publication was intended to form the introduction and the first few chapters of an extensive work on the subject. Of the many romances and poems then written, that which reworks all the earlier poems on the *Chevalier au Cygne* stands out most prominently. Synopses of various other poems of this cycle are likewise analyzed in this long article.

Pp. 469-481. Al. Graur. Questions latino-roumaines. I. Sur le traitement roumain de l'U bref latin. II. A propos de l'article postposé. Chronological questions are of importance when discussing the development of the Roumanian language, as is here demonstrated in the two special cases chosen.

Pp. 482-527. Edmond Faral. L' "Historia regum Britanniae" de Geoffroy de Monmouth à propos d'une édition récente. This work has been preserved in about two hundred manuscripts, and has in recent years been edited both by M. Edmond Faral and by Mr. Acton Griscom. I. Histoire du texte de l' "Historia regum Britanniae." II. Rapports de l' "Historia regum Britanniae" avec les "Bruts" gallois. The manuscripts may be divided into four main groups according to their dedications. But the several editors disagree as to the relative position of these groups and their importance in the constitution of a critical text. In approaching the question of the *Brut* versions the complications and divergencies of opinion increase as the attempt is made to decide upon the relation existing between the two closely allied texts, the latter extant in some sixty manuscripts. M. Edmond Faral deems Geoffrey of Monmouth's text to have been the original, but believes the archaeological evidence that has been adduced to be of doubtful value.

Pp. 528-560. Mélanges. Pp. 561-579. Comptes rendus. Pp. 580-594. Périodiques. Pp. 595-606. Chronique. Pp. 607-615. Index des mots. Pp. 616-624. Table des matières.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

MNEMOSYNE 59 (1931), parts 1 and 2.

Pp. 1-102. J. G. P. Borleffs, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani de Baptismo ad fidem codicis Trecensis veterumque editionum*. An edition comprising preface; sigla; text with dual notes at foot of pages, scriptural references and MS readings; index scripturarum; index nominum; index verborum.

Pp. 103-131. K. Sprey, *De C. Sallustio Crispo homine populari*. Suas. 2, 4, 2, for *at herculem Catonem* read *at hercule incassum*. The epistle is genuine, and was written before no. 1. The author gives his interpretation of Sallust's character and motives.

Pp. 132-164. W. J. W. Koster, *De accentibus excerpta ex Choerobosco, Aetherio, Philopono, aliis*. The author believes that Aetherius is a proper name and not an epithet of Choeroboscus. He lists 60 canons on accentuation, noting some variations between the excerpts.

Pp. 165-183. W. E. J. Kuiper, *De Menandri Adulatore*. The two houses in the stage setting are inhabited by Phidias and Ieno, respectively. The character Colax is known to different people by different names, Gnatho and Struthias.

Pp. 184-215. J. D. Meerwaldt, *De communi in Priamum et Troiam epilogo*. An interpretation of Aeneid 2, 554-558; the author rejects that of Servius; *truncus* is Pergama, not Priam. The author then analyzes the vowel distribution within the lines.

Pp. 216-237. A. J. Kronenberg, *Ad Plutarchi Moralia*. Textual emendation of 44 passages.

P. 238. F. Muller, J. fil., *Propertii Carmen* 4, 11, 66. *Consule quo facto tempore* = *quo tempore*, *quo* (frater) *consule facto*.

CLAYTON M. HALL.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY.

## REVIEWS.

*Plautinisches und Attisches.* VON GÜNTHER JACHMANN. *Problematata: Forschungen zur Klassischen Philologie, Heft 3.* Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1931. M. 16.

This volume of Plautine studies proceeds generally with the methods of Fraenkel to separate the Plautine from the Greek elements in several of the plays of Plautus. Readers will agree with the author when he says that one is in danger of reasoning in a circle when one erects an a priori standard of what is Plautine and then uses this standard for the discovery of Plautine lines. They will also feel that Jachmann has expended a great deal of ingenuity in discovering in the plays various inconsistencies that have not been apparent to others. Since Plautus did not write for readers, certainly not for professors, but rather for single performances before a holiday crowd, it is questionable whether it is legitimate to establish criteria of composition on the basis of slight flaws that become apparent only after a dozen very meticulous examinations of a play. I shall try to illustrate my point by taking a few examples from Jachmann.

In discussing the *Rudens* Jachmann notices that Plesidippus was a stranger to Daemones in Act I, but turns out to be a relative at line 1195. Hence he believes that in the latter passage Plautus has left his model and has inserted a scene of his own. But I venture to say that most of us in reading line 1214 reached the conclusion that Daemones learned about Plesidippus while talking to Palaestra inside the house. Jachmann also finds great difficulty with the scene beginning at line 1045, because the women are silent for a long time. There are two patent reasons for this silence. In the first place, the women's parts had for two acts been taken by silent actors, since the producer's troupe did not suffice for all the rôles; it would be strange to make them voluble all at once. Secondly, Plautus does not want them to reveal all the facts till he has exploited the quarrel between Gripus and Trachalio to the full.

In his discussion of the *Miles* Jachmann considers that the lines following 459 move too slowly; but here Plautus is obviously dragging out the speeches to give Philocomasium time to transform herself into Dicea. At line 372 he objects to the slave's jokes about his father, reminding us that in Greek as well as in Roman law a slave has no *pater*. But no one who is acquainted with Latin inscriptions would worry about that point. Finally he discusses once more the difficult lines 807-810 of the *Miles*, concluding that Plautus inserted the Lurcio scene and bungled the text before it. However, the Greek author as well

as Plautus needed a scene to give plausible time for the fetching of Acroteleutium. Moreover, since the play has thirteen rôles to cram into the capacities of five actors, it is likely that Periplectomenus, who leaves the stage at 805, was also cast for Lurcio. Hence a plausible dialogue has to occupy time; hence also Palaestrio continues to give instructions, some of which eventually prove unnecessary. The real difficulty lies in lines 809-810: "Why need I remember that?" Pal. "I'll tell you when the time comes." Those two lines seem to me to bear the marks of a cutting down of a space-filling dialogue. I suggest that at the Plautine revival, when larger troupes were available so that another actor could take the Lurcio scene, some lines of Plautus were cut out after 809 and Palaestrio's curt answer (810) substituted. If this be the explanation of this one passage, then we need not resort either to *contaminatio* or to the supposition that Plautus lost the thread of his plot. It is in fact the only passage in the *Miles* that gives any reasonable foothold for either contention.

The study is full of keen observations. The rejection of Schwering's definition of *contaminatio*, for instance, is especially timely. But most of it seems to me misspent labor based upon unreasonable premises: the assumption that the originals were perfect, that all flaws are attributable to the incapacity of Plautus, and that these plays should be judged by criteria applicable to work meant for literary publication.

TENNEY FRANK.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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The Divinity of the Roman Emperor. By LILY ROSS TAYLOR, Professor of Latin, Bryn Mawr College. Philological Monographs published by The American Philological Association, No. I, 1931. Pp. x, 296.

Miss Taylor's book is divided as follows into ten chapters: I, The Divinity of Kings in the Hellenistic East; II, The Divinity of Man and King in Republican Rome; III, Julius Caesar's Attempt to found a Divine Monarchy; IV, Divus Julius enshrined in State Cult; V, The Strife to secure Caesar's Power; VI, Augustus, Son of the Deified Julius; VII, The Formation of a State Cult; VIII, The Institution of the State Cult in Provinces and Municipalities; IX, The Deification of Augustus; X, The Development of Augustus' Divinity; and three appendices: I, The Worship of the Persian King; II, Alexander and the Proskynesis; III, Inscriptions recording Divine Honors; and an index. There are 47 figures in the text, of which over 30

are of coins. The format is that used for the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*.

The first chapter dealing with the Hellenistic Ruler Cult is a necessary introduction to Emperor Worship and valuable as a rapid survey, but it contains little that is new. It deals with oriental influences in the form of the Persian obeisance to the king's *fravashi*, the hero cult of Cyrus the Great, the Egyptian conception of the King as an incarnation of divinity, and the Egyptian cult of the king's *ka* or guardian spirit. Miss Taylor believes that among the Greeks the belief in *daimones* prepared the way for the worship of supermen. Emphasis is laid on the importance of Alexander the Great; with respect to his introduction of the *proskynesis* Miss Taylor remarks, correctly, that Greeks and Macedonians interpreted the act as one of worship; she calls it "an adaptation to Greek banquet customs of the honor to the *daimon* of the Persian king." There is a very brief treatment of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults. The development of the ruler cult in the Pergamene kingdom seems to be dismissed in too summary a fashion, while the statement that "it was only the dead kings who were called gods" does not appear justified (see, for example, the inscription from Elaea [Ditt. *O. G. I.*, 332] where Attalus III is called a *σύνναος θεός* during his lifetime). Further discussion of the practical purpose of the Hellenistic Ruler Cult and of the extent to which it was an expression of genuine faith would have been welcome.

The next chapter treats in the main of Roman contacts with the ruler worship of the Hellenistic East. Roman magistrates and commanders fell heir to the divine honors formerly paid to the kings, and the Roman senate condoned and even encouraged such practise. The Etruscan kings had had certain emblems of divinity, and the triumph was "the closest thing in Roman state ceremony to deification". The barriers between man and god were broken down by philosophy and the mystery religions. The argument that Julius Caesar was *divus* before his death remains perhaps somewhat doubtful, though Miss Taylor presents evidence that *divus* might be used of a living person.

The third chapter relates Caesar's attempt to create his god-head which he considered as a necessary part of monarchy. Steps in this direction are his claim to descent from Venus and Mars, his obtaining the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and the divine honors voted him by Greek cities. Egypt seems to have made a profound impression on him. The senate made him *σύνναος* of Quirinus and voted him many divine honors, including the oath by his Genius, a temple, and a *flamen*. Some of the honors were spontaneous worship, some were mere flattery, and some were proposed by enemies who wished to arouse hatred against him. It is noted that there was no divine legend about Caesar during his lifetime.



In the fourth chapter there is discussion of popular sympathy for the murdered Caesar, of the attempts of Octavian to carry out the divine honors to Caesar voted before his death, and Antony's opposition to Octavian. When these two formed an alliance they deified Caesar, an act in which Miss Taylor sees the putting into effect of the honors decreed in 44. The altar and column erected to Caesar by the people, the destruction of these objects by Dolabella, and the comet of Julius Caesar are also discussed.

The historical background of the period when Rome was ruled by the *triumviri* is admirably presented in Chapter V. Miss Taylor shows how Octavian was associated with Apollo, Sextus Pompey with Neptune, and Mark Antony with Dionysus. Important points are Octavian's desire to establish the cult of Divus Julius, his use of the expression *Divi filius*, and his final stand on the side of Roman tradition against the divine oriental monarchy which Antony tried to establish. It is interesting to note that Miss Taylor says that the child of the *IV Eclogue* is "to be taken as a symbol of the age" (Hermann, in the *Rev. Arch.* xxxiii (1931), 47-69, says emphatically that the child must be Marcellus). The story of the *Arae Perusinae* is given (p. 117), but questioned. To the reviewer the idea of a human sacrifice to Divus Julius is absurd, for the Romans did not practise human sacrifice, and Octavian was far too shrewd to outrage the feelings of the Romans and of the whole empire.

Miss Taylor has, apparently, misinterpreted the line "*Dum nova divorum cenat adulteria*" of the anonymous poem on the *ἑωδὲκάθεος* quoted by Suetonius (*Aug.*, 70) to which she refers in the words "Octavian is said . . . to have indulged in some very unseemly gossip about the affairs of the other gods." Rankin, in the Wescott-Rankin edition of Suetonius' *Lives of Julius and Augustus*, p. 337, translates, "while he feasted on novel debaucheries of the gods"; Rolfe (Loeb ed.) translates "feasts amid novel debaucheries of the gods", while the reviewer would render the line thus: "While Octavian presents at a banquet new adulteries of the gods", an interpretation which will be explained at length in a forthcoming article.

The sixth chapter defines Octavian's position after the Civil Wars. He was absolute and divine ruler in Egypt; in the East he was worshipped by non-Romans as a savior and in connection with Roma; with Romans he remained mortal, but looked forward to deification upon death after the example of the demi-gods, especially of Romulus (unfortunately Miss Taylor has not cited the strongest evidence on this point, Ovid, *Fasti*, ii, 133-144). There is excellent discussion of Augustus' cult in subject kingdoms, the question of succession, the influence of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, the *ludi saeculares*, the libation to be poured to the emperor's Genius at every banquet, and the title Augustus (on the last subject two important articles by Gagé



may be mentioned: Romulus-Augustus, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, xlvii [1930], pp. 138-181, and "Les Sacerdotes d'Auguste et ses réformes religieuses", *Mélanges* xlviii [1931], pp. 75-108. Of these the first appeared so late that Miss Taylor would scarcely have been able to use it, while the latter has appeared after the publication of her book.) The eighty "golden" statues mentioned on p. 154 is an error. They were silver.

The state cult treated in Chapter VII was based upon the worship of the emperor's Genius by Roman citizens. The acquisition in 12 B. C. of the office of *Pontifex Maximus* marked an important point in Augustus' religious policy, and from 12 to 8 B. C. dates the reorganization of the cult of the Lares in the *vici* with the addition of the Genius of Augustus. Attention is given to the *Ara Pacis* and its significance.

In Chapter VIII, Miss Taylor shows how in the East the cult of Divus Julius and of Roma gave way to the increasing importance of worship of Augustus, while at the same time his cult was extended to Roman citizens, who previously could worship only Roma and Divus Julius. In the West the provincial assemblies probably all had a cult of Augustus before his death, the center probably being everywhere an altar as at Colonia Agrippinensis, Lugudunum, and Tarraco. The municipal cult was, Miss Taylor believes, more or less spontaneous. She shows the important part taken in it by the freedmen and the growth of the colleges of *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales*. If worship in the municipalities was paid to the Genius, this can have been only a very thin disguise. It is interesting to note the plan of several eastern kings to complete the Olympieum at Athens and dedicate it to the Genius of Augustus. Miss Taylor states that "there is only one literary parallel from Augustus' reign for the attachment of the word *deus* to the name of the emperor, and that is in an elegy of . . . Propertius". (Ovid refers to Augustus frequently as *deus*, but not in conjunction with the word *Augustus*.)

Chapter IX is concerned with the official *consecratio* of Augustus after his death and the encouragement given by Tiberius to municipal and provincial worship of Divus Augustus. The reviewer would question Miss Taylor's interpretation of the dedication of the temple of *Concordia Augusta* in 10 A. D. as referring to the harmonious relations between Tiberius and Augustus. Is not the emphasis more on the concord which had existed between Tiberius and his brother Drusus?

The brief tenth chapter points out Tiberius' adherence to the policy of Augustus, Gaius' deviation from it, and Claudius' return to it. The importance of the cult of the Genius has perhaps been overemphasized by Miss Taylor.

In the first appendix Miss Taylor concludes that the Persians

offered a form of cult to the spirit of their kings, both living and dead, and to the idea of glory that was thought of as attending them. In the second she expresses the belief that at Bactra Alexander "simply added a *proskynesis* to the ordinary toast which men were no doubt in the habit of drinking to him." She calls *proskynesis* at banquets "a preparation for the later decree of deification." The reviewer would agree that there was some form of cult offered to the *δαίμων* of the Persian king, but would be inclined to question the statement that the *proskynesis* at Bactra was "a preparation for the later decree of deification"; were these not more or less unrelated matters?

The last appendix comprises a selective list of inscriptions "arranged geographically, of the records that indicate divine honors bestowed during their lifetime on Caesar, Antony, Augustus, and his house." The list is certainly useful, but it is to be regretted that Miss Taylor did not aim to make it complete.

Miss Taylor's book is an important contribution to our knowledge of the worship of the Roman emperor, and deserves to be ranked with the best works on the subject, those by Beurlier and Kornemann. The presentation is clear and logical, the discussion of the cult of Julius and Augustus is the best we have, and the bibliography is most complete and of great value in itself. This book is a most auspicious beginning for the series of Monographs of the American Philological Association.

KENNETH SCOTT.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.

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Survivals of Roman Religion. By GORDON J. LAING. New York, 1931. Longmans, Green and Co. xiii + 257 pp.

Few titles from the series on "Our Debt to Greece and Rome" would seem to promise more general interest than that of Dean Laing's recent work. The term "Roman Religion" is used to include all cults that found a following in Rome, hence the work deals with practically all survivals of paganism, especially those appearing in the western church, or in the life of any of the countries of western Europe (or America).

Dean Laing finds such survivals in the New Testament: for example, the idea of the Man-God, the Trinity, the regeneration of initiates, and the brotherhood of believers. The birth of Christ, the adoration of the Magi, his miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension have pagan parallels; so also have baptism, communion, prayer, and song-worship. Much more numerous, however, are the pagan practices adopted by the church after the time of Constantine. Polytheism survived in the veneration of the saints—in popular cult and belief, if not in doctrines ap-

proved by the church. Many goddesses, including Diana, Venus, Cybele, and Isis, contributed to the cult of Mary. Some of the ancient festivals survived in the church, such as the Robigalia (St. Mark's Day, April 25), the Ambarvalia ("beating the bounds," on or before Ascension Day in May), and the Natalis Solis Invicti of December 25. Others, such as the Lupercalia and Saturnalia, contribute to modern holiday customs. Present-day marriages and funerals preserve some ancient rites. Incubation for the cure of disease, we are told, still survives in Italian churches. The use in worship of images, candles, incense, holy water, and instrumental music are of pagan origin; as are also the kissing of sacred objects, expiatory offerings (indulgences), and the form, orientation, and consecration of churches. Many churches are on the site of temples and incorporate the material remains of pagan art. The belief in divination by astrology, oracles, visions, and omens is not extinct.

These are only a part of the "survivals" which pack the thirty-one chapters of Dean Laing's book. To arrange the material was a difficult task, especially as the attempt is made to study separately the various pagan gods, or groups of gods (Ch. I-XXII), then the various religious usages (Ch. XXIII-XXXI). A good deal of repetition and cross-reference thus results.

For a popular work, the notes are rather numerous, yet the curious or sceptical reader may often find striking statements left without a clue as to source. What is the evidence, for instance, that in Asia Minor "the Mithraists, numerous and influential, had celebrated Sunday long before the Christian era" (p. 149)? Or that "at first many of the Christians, associating music with all that was pagan, were bitterly opposed to it, and we find writers of the fourth and fifth centuries condemning the use of song and instruments in cult" (pp. 202 f.)? The condemnation of instruments is found in the works of Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, etc. (though no references are given); but the reviewer is still unaware of any condemnation of the use of song in Christian worship.

Dean Laing differs from Wissowa in accepting as genuine the *di minuti* of Varro's list (pp. 3-7); also in believing Mars to be a vegetation spirit (p. 176). He thinks that the festival of Candlemas (February 2) is of other than Roman origin (p. 40), though Usener is followed by Wissowa in holding that the candle procession is a survival of the Roman *amburbium*.

Other notes follow:

P. 3. In describing the type of spirit-being worshipped in the earliest Roman religion, would it not be more apt to use the Latin term (*numen*) than to say, "a demon it was often called"?

P. 91. "Roman religion from very early times set aside places of burial as *loci sacri*." Burial grounds were rather

known as *loca religiosa*, and were distinguished from *loca sacra*, or places publicly dedicated to the gods.

P. 156. "Adoration (*adoratio*) . . . consisted in placing the right hand upon the mouth (*ad ora*) as one stood before or passed by a temple or altar or statue." Is this to be taken as the etymology and primary definition of the term? The *Thesaurus* and our dictionaries give the primary meaning of *adorare* as "to address" (cf. *orare*, *os*). The secondary meaning is "to worship with prayer," and finally, in a general sense, "to worship". The curious form of adoration described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxviii, 25) can hardly be taken as a general definition of the term.

P. 159. "Jesus kissed (*sic*) the loaves and fishes." A misprint?

P. 185. "Even a Christian emperor like Theodosius consulted pagan oracles." Is the reference to his famous consultation of the Egyptian monk John of Lycopolis?

P. 225. The Mithraic sacred meal was of bread and water (*Just. Apol.* i, 66), rather than of bread and wine.

Wissowa laments the biassed treatment of pagan survivals found in the principal works. From the extravagances of a number of its predecessors the present volume is free. The difficulty of labelling "survivals" with assurance is recognized, and the author is often content to point to analogies, similarities, and possible connections. We are here provided with an English work, in convenient and attractive form, which discloses to us the extent of those similarities.

WILLIAM M. GREEN.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

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The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. xviii + 567 pp. \$7.50.

This book is more than a discussion of Hellenistic chronology. The author has taken as his point of departure an inscription which he discovered in 1928 on the west slope of the Acropolis, and from it, directly and indirectly, has elaborated new tables of the Athenian archons for the last three centuries before Christ. The investigation deals with collateral evidence of the widest possible range: the archons at Delphi, the archons and calendar of Delos, the Macedonian calendar in Egypt, the dates in the chronicle of Eusebius, matters of general historical and prosopographical interest, and finally, the whole complicated problem of calendar cycles and secretary cycles from as early as the fifth century B. C. One cannot praise too highly the incomparable skill with which even obscure or seemingly unintelligible bits of

evidence have been made to yield a logical and harmonious background for the story of Athenian history.

As Professor Dinsmoor himself admits (preface), many parts of the argument are based upon deduction, and may be verified or disproved by further discovery. The moot question of the date of the archon Polyeuktos (pp. 90-111, 123-137, 154-160, 190-201) has probably been discussed as much as any other one question in Hellenistic chronology. Dinsmoor makes a strong case for 249/8, and it now remains to be seen whether such discoveries as the new decree from Rhamnus (*B. C. H.*, 1930, pp. 269-270) and the new interpretation given by Robert to the inscription of Charixenos at Delphi (*B. C. H.*, 1930, pp. 322-332) will necessitate a change in this determination. But many definitive contributions have been made. The essential names from the beginning of the third century to the end of the Chremonidean War have been definitely established. This is all clear gain. The false assumption of Macedonian domination in Athens between 288 and 263 must now be abandoned (Chap. VI); with only one break, the cycle of prytany secretaries moves forward without readjustment from 307 to 262 B. C.

In that part of the volume dealing specifically with the calendar, Dinsmoor has also made far-reaching contributions. In succeeding chapters his searching analysis of the cycles of Meton, of Kallippos, and of Hinnarchos again and again establishes some new fact or elucidates some difficult historical problem. It is especially gratifying to find the answer to the vexed question of dating *κατ' ἄρχοντα* and *κατὰ θεόν* in decrees of the second century (pp. 402-418). The date by prytany corresponds regularly to the date by month *κατ' ἄρχοντα* which Dinsmoor renders as "New Style." The corrections in the calendar introduced by the dating in "New Style" are associated with revisions at the end of the fourteenth Metonic cycle (167/6) and with the commencement of the later great cycle of Hipparchus (145). The sequence of alternation in full and hollow months in the civil calendar has been worked out in conformity with both the literary and epigraphical evidence, and Dinsmoor has been able to construct tables showing this sequence through the long period of seventeen Metonic cycles from 432 to 109 B. C. (pp. 424-440). Naturally, the precise names of the various months for Julian equivalents and the sequence of ordinary and intercalary years depend also upon the validity of the archon lists, but whatever changes may be made in details can lessen only in a minor way the fundamental value of Dinsmoor's tables.

In order to allow Meton's first cycle to end with the month Skirophorion in 413 B. C., Dinsmoor is compelled to assume that the month Mounichion in that year was omitted (p. 342), and also to reject as "null and void" an equation given by Aristotle in the *Constitution of Athens* for 411 B. C. (p. 329). To the



present reviewer it seems here preferable to allow the first Metonic cycle to end with the month Thargelion, and so avoid the assumption which contradicts the evidence of Aristotle and at the same time requires the omission of a month from the civil calendar. In general, one wonders whether the Metonic scheme was applied to the actual civil calendar with that rigidity which Dinsmoor implies, especially in view of the irregularities in 423 B. C. which may be inferred from Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 615-626) and Thucydides (IV, 118-119; V, 19-20). But such irregularities of a few days are hard to localize, and do not affect the value of the tables for all practical purposes.

The book is admirably printed and bound by the Harvard University Press and supplied with useful bibliographies and indices. Some idea of how thoroughly fundamental sources have been consulted and utilized may be gained from the fact that the index of inscriptions cited alone comprises ten pages. Innumerable improvements in text and restoration have been proposed, so that references to the *Corpus* of Athenian inscriptions must now be supplemented by references to this volume. One cannot fail to recognize that the author has the same facility in dealing with epigraphical problems that he has already shown in other fields.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

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The *Eclogues* of Henrique Cayado. Edited, with introduction and notes, by WILFRED P. MUSTARD. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931. Pp. 98. \$1.50.

Henrique Cayado was one of those young Portuguese scholars who went to Italy to study in the late 1400's; Prof. Mustard prints as an Appendix Politian's letter to Teixeira praising the quality of the pupils sent him from where (to quote Cayado's 9th *Eclogue*) "Tagus pleno fluit aureus alueo." After Politian's death in 1494, Cayado attached himself to Beroaldo—that

"Beraldus

Felsineae uates atque ingens gloria gentis"—

who commends Cayado's "uersiculos bene tornatos." Cayado made an impress on his contemporaries, and even Erasmus praises him as "in epigrammatibus felicem, in oratione soluta promptum ac felicem, ad argumentandum dexterrimae dicacitatis." He knew his Ovid, Horace, Virgil and especially Seneca; Statius was to him "poeta omnibus fortasse anteponendus" (Virgil excepted.) We possess his *Sylvae* and *Epigrams*, as well as the nine *Eclogues*



here admirably edited by Prof. Mustard. He is apparently the man mentioned by Erasmus as dying of "angina vinaria" in Rome, in 1508-9. From my experience of the inexhaustible Lisbon archives, I imagine much more could be gleaned there about his life. The Eclogues are not merely clever verse; they throw much light on contemporary Italy. Prof. Mustard's notes are illuminating; there is a brief index of proper names. The book is a worthy member of a valuable series.

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Luigi Schiaparelli. *Note Paleografiche*. [Estratto dall' "Archivio Storico Italiano," Serie VII, Vol. XII, 2 (1929).] Florence, *Leo S. Olschki*, 1930. Pp. 45; 1 plate.

In this acute and stimulating essay, Schiaparelli debates how the Visigothic hand arose. Lowe and Lehmann make it a development of the semi-uncial. For Schiaparelli, it is the Roman cursive of Spain become a book hand; he would even derive its characteristic "g" from uncial rather than semi-uncial; and in its later history he sees much Arabic influence. Two MSS. come up for special discussion—the semi-uncial Reginensis 1024, and Autun 27, in which Lindsay discovered Visigothic elements; Schiaparelli publishes Liebaert's photograph of f. 27. In Autun 27 Schiaparelli finds the earliest known example of early Visigothic cursive; he might have called attention to the spelling also as confirming the diagnosis. The ideal work on Visigothic will characterize the various schools, and point out how their scripts were influenced from Africa, Italy, France, etc.; Schiaparelli keeps contributing manfully to this ideal.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

NORTH HATLEY, QUEBEC.

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G. CURCIO, *La Primitiva Civiltà Latina Agricola*. Firenze, *Vallecchi*, 1929. Pp. 231.

JOSEF HÖRLE, *Catos Hausbücher*. Paderborn, *F. Schöningh*, 1929. Pp. 270.

Cato's precious book on farming is now receiving some of the attention it deserves; but the difficulties of the text, the peculiarities of the vocabulary, and the highly technical nature of some of the chapters on farm machinery place the book beyond the range of ordinary editorial work. A syndicate of various specialists ought to edit and comment on the book. Professor Curcio has offered a translation, together with an introduction

that attempts to exploit the economic and technical aspects of Cato's work. The translator, who has apparently observed with some care the methods of olive and wine culture and the implements required in the industry, has provided a translation that elucidates many difficult passages. However it slips up at many points and has to be used with great caution. In the first place he did not use the good 1922 Teubner text of Goetz, and secondly the work is too hastily done. So, for instance, he assumes in Chapter 136 that the *politor* is the harvester, and in 144 the statistics become badly confused.

The introduction is useful, but would have been improved if the author had referred to the very excellent discussion of Cato by Gummerus in *Der römische Gutsbetrieb* (Klio, Beiheft 5).

Hörle's volume is of a very different kind. The author commands all the literature and is not afraid of any of the knotty problems presented. But he attempts the impossible when he tries to sift the book into several periods of composition. It has long been an accepted creed that Cato's book lacks unity and that the first draft received additions and interpolations, but Hörle's criteria of style and grammar will not convince many readers. The *Dritter Teil*, pp. 149 ff., is nevertheless very valuable in its courageous attempt to explain the technical portions of Cato's book, especially in the minute descriptions of mills and presses, and the economic calculations offered after page 192. However, these calculations must be checked with care before using. For instance, the results on pp. 202-4 are vitiated by two errors: first, he takes Pliny's highest figure of production (6 pounds of oil from one modius of olives) as an average—it is certainly at least twice the average figure, and I suspect that VI is a corruption of III—, and he takes *SS* to be an abbreviation of *situli*, which is impossible. On page 205 he mistranslates Columella III, 9, as well as Cato XI, 1. The latter passage (*dolia ubi quinque vindemiae esse possint culleum DCCC*) means not 800 cullei for five years, but 800 cullei per year for five years. Hence Hörle's gross figure must be multiplied by five. Despite such mistakes, this chapter contains several good suggestions, and, if used with extreme caution, his method will be found of considerable value.

TENNEY FRANK.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

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